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**A REVIEW OF MANPOWER  
R & D PROJECTS  
IN THE CORRECTIONAL FIELD  
(1963 - 1973)**

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**MANPOWER RESEARCH MONOGRAPH  
NO. 28**

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Manpower Administration



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**U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR**  
Peter J. Brennan, Secretary  
**Manpower Administration**



**1973**





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# OUTLINE OF REPORT

This paper reviews the experience of the first decade of projects focused on the criminal offender as a manpower resource. Its primary purpose is to summarize and synthesize the conclusions reached by those projects funded by the Office of Research and Development (ORD),\* U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) during the period 1963-1973 so that manpower programming for the criminal offender can draw upon a broad base of knowledge and experience. Although other Federal, State and local projects have made contributions in this area, they are not within the mandate of this paper.

The first section of the paper presents a brief history of the projects, a history inextricably linked to the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and its subsequent amendments. Early projects were based in the prison and focused on skill training, and pinpointed the need for change within the individual offender. Concern has shifted over the years to projects which are based in the community and focus on job development and placement, and highlight the need for change within the established social institutions.

The second section of the paper addresses some of the issues related to assessing project success. Goal-setting and its importance in establishing a framework for questions, designs and techniques are discussed. The role that recidivism should play in assessing the effectiveness of a manpower program is also considered. It is concluded that although the relationship between unemployment and recidivism is strong, and projects desire to reduce recidivism, there are unique questions which manpower programs have a responsibility to explore and answer. For example: Have projects been able to give the criminal offender a job skill? Have projects uncovered societal barriers to offender employment which are not related to on-the-job performance? Have projects identified those job and work atmospheres which are conducive to employment success? These and other manpower questions are at the core of ORD projects. In addition, some of the assumptions which appear to underlie offender projects are surfaced in an effort to underscore the importance of their continuing refinement and questioning.

The third section of the paper provides the reader with an overview of the project participant, who is often a more disadvantaged member of an already severely disadvantaged group. A

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\*The Office of Research and Development was established in the spring of 1970 by the merger of the Office of Special Manpower Programs (OSMP) and the Office of Manpower Research (OMR).



composite profile of the "typical" male participant reveals the following: he is between 19 and 25 years of age; a high school drop-out or push-out (reading a few years below his grade level); untrained, unskilled, and with no career potential; has a history of crime which started during his early teens; has a low self-concept; and lacks self-confidence. Both the female and juvenile offender are mentioned only briefly in this paper, since they did not play a major distinguishable role in the offender projects. The section continues with a discussion of offender selection ("creaming") and concludes that a relative homogeneity of project participants resulted. The most successful participants were older, more educated, employed at the time of arrest or had a relatively good employment history prior to arrest, married and/or had other supportive interpersonal relationships in the community.

The fourth section of the paper covers a variety of issues related to providing the offender a job skill. It points to the limited areas of training which have been offered (e.g., automobile repair, electrical appliance repair) and to the low level of training which has been available (entry-level). The importance of prevocational training is discussed, as well as training in social skills and work habits which are necessary for maintaining a job; most projects have concluded that the work difficulties of offenders stem from poor adjustment to the general work setting and a lack of necessary social and work-related behaviors. Projects found that training that takes place in the community or on-the-job may be superior to that which takes place in a closed environment; community-based training can shape an individual to the specific needs of a prospective employer and eases the burden of a prison to duplicate equipment and training for a variety of occupations. Both educational and counseling components are considered important complements to skill training; special educational techniques which have been developed are discussed. This section also discusses incentives which have been effective in changing behavior and motivating maximal performance. It also emphasizes designing programs which incorporate techniques for shaping and modifying behavior. The section concludes with a discussion of professional, paraprofessional, and "establishment" staff and their program performance.

The fifth section of the paper is concerned with placing and maintaining the offender in employment, and starts by pointing to the barriers to the employment of the offender which ORD projects have exposed in both formal regulations and informal business practices. Some of these barriers are arrest records, mandatory written examinations, licenses, and other requirements which are not related to performance on the job.

Job development is one function which has remained largely unexplored. It has typically been limited to securing jobs for participants and has overlooked the potential of close work with employers in job redefinition and restructuring. Placement of offenders in employment is perhaps best done by project staff; community agencies have shown limited effectiveness in this area. Job mobility for the offender is high; offenders are most apt to leave their first job within a few months following project termination. Little information exists on employment stability, although projects which have gathered longitudinal data on experimental and control groups' post-project experience reveal that the experimental groups spend a greater percentage of the year working, receive higher wages, and are in more highly skilled positions.

Job retention appears to be a function of job characteristics (work atmosphere, personnel policy requirements, on-the-job training, salary schedule) as well as offender characteristics. An employer/supervisor commitment to an offender's employment success can be crucial to job retention. Employers have consented to work with projects to redesign jobs and supervisory styles. Analytical tools have been devised to provide an overall index of an offender's potential adjustment in the community, and can be used in program design. Linkages between community agencies and programs have been forged.

The sixth section of the paper discusses program assessment and development. Planning for a program's assessment prior to inception is considered critical, and results in a well-conceived plan of data gathering and the support of project staff. It is pointed out that projects have used a variety of assessment designs, from the exploratory to the field experiment. Next, assumptions which underlie programs are exposed and questioned, and the necessity for interfacing theory and research emphasized. The danger inherent in generalizing conclusions from one program to another setting and population is forewarned. The gathering of qualitative data is viewed as important as the gathering of quantitative data; useful statistics should be accompanied by meaningful interpretation. It is further pointed out that assessment instruments have played a minor role in ORD offender projects, although some existing predictive instruments hold promise for aiding program design. Finally, overall program development necessitates shaping a comprehensive system of services.





# I. A DECADE OF CONCERN

## Introduction

Not all revolutions are dramatic, involving radical upheaval and violent destruction of the old. Some revolutions like the scientific and industrial "do their thing" quietly, bringing about significant changes without fanfare or a great deal of conspicuous attention...(but alter) that with which they were associated through knowledge and skill.\*

A quiet revolution of significant proportions took shape in the U.S. Department of Labor in the early 1960's with the introduction of experimental, demonstration, and research projects which considered the criminal offender as a manpower resource. This study reviews the findings of a decade of projects (1963-1973) funded by the Office of Research and Development (ORD), Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor (DOL), focused on the criminal offender as a manpower resource. This paper summarizes and synthesizes the conclusions reached by these "offender projects" so that programming for the criminal offender can draw from a broad base of knowledge and experience. The study is based almost entirely upon the author's review of project reports and related materials (see Bibliography), supplemented by selected onsite project visits and interviews with project administrators and staff.

## The Beginning—MDTA of 1962

Prior to the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA), no Federal responsibility existed for generating research specifically on manpower issues (127). A rising unemployment rate indicated a need for research in the problems of providing displaced workers with the advanced skills necessary to compete in an advanced technological labor market. MDTA eventually became the major vehicle for providing unemployed and underemployed disadvantaged groups with those skills necessary for entry into the competitive labor market (93).

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\*Robert L. Smith. A Quiet Revolution: Probation Subsidy, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972.

Under Manpower Administration guidelines, a prisoner was not considered legally unemployed or underemployed and therefore not eligible for any manpower services (MA Order 14-63, December 1963). Later, the guidelines were revised and some creative administrators in the Department of Labor devoted some MDTA funds to a group of permissible research and special projects to "determine whether and by what means effective employment preparation services can be provided to the special group which the regular program had particular difficulty in aiding - most notably ghetto youth, the illiterate, and minority groups suffering chronic unemployment" (107). Restoration of Youth Through Training (RYT) in 1963 came under the aegis of research and special projects, imparting skill training to jailed youth in New York City (2). One year later, two experimental and demonstration projects were funded, Project MORE (later to be known as Project Challenge) at the Lorton Youth Center in Lorton, Virginia (1), and the Draper Project at the Draper Correctional Center in Elmore, Alabama (8). Each justified its work with incarcerated offenders through an interpretation of the DOL's role in identifying, developing and testing "varied innovations which could be adopted to improve overall manpower programs" (107). These early projects were restricted by legislation from furnishing training to any but youthful offenders (ages 16-22 years) for whom no other training was being provided.

Prior to these projects, no serious attempt was made to test the proposition that correctional institutions might be used to create an effective entry into the world of work. Early projects recognized this need:

Before coming to jail and after their (average offenders) return to the community they are likely to live in marginal, impoverished, culturally deprived sections of the community. Their previous employment record is sporadic, a sequence of short-term jobs interspersed with frequent periods of unemployment. When they have worked, the jobs are likely to be low-skilled and low-pay. The jobs for which they qualify are decreasing in numbers because of technological advance and changes in the occupational structure. Not only is the number of jobs decreasing, but because more young workers are entering the market, the competition for entry-level jobs is tougher. (96) (Restoration of Youth Through Training)

When the Draper MDT Project was proposed early in 1964, over 80% of the Draper inmates had never held as much as a semi-skilled position. In Alabama, the prisoner must have a job in order to be paroled, but most pre-1964 parolees went to temporary jobs set up by a friend of the family to get the man out of prison. Typical jobs which had been held by inmates who entered training had been as common laborers in seasonal dead end occupations... (8) (The Draper Project)

Thus, these early "offender projects" marked the beginning of no less than a quiet revolution whose impact is still being felt nationwide.

# Training in Correctional Institutions

The earliest prisoner training projects offered a time to "get in and look around." Although differences in project setting, population, and emphasis existed, each project validated the feasibility of implementing manpower projects for the criminal offender and gave additional clues to the problems involved in attempting to tie a national program of manpower training to the area of corrections. By the close of 1965 it was clear that: (1) Trainees could be recruited without undue difficulty; (2) despite educational and social handicaps, trainees were capable of absorbing the training when augmented by remedial academic instruction, counseling and supportive services in the community; (3) training and job development could result in job placement, and; (4) community involvement and support could be mobilized. Perhaps most important was the confirmation that vocational training was desired by some of those confined in correctional institutions and by correctional administrators.

The 5-year span between the first ORD projects and the funding of a nationwide pilot service program of 26 inmate training projects\* was characterized by a proliferation of institutionally-based training projects sponsored by ORD. Each project extended the experimental aspects of prisoner training in a variety of ways. For example, Project Challenge utilized volunteers and paraprofessionals to work side by side with the professional staff of the project (6). Instructors were hired who, although they did not have teaching licenses and whose experiential and education achievements were far removed from traditional educational requirements, were able to "reach and teach" the inmates. Counselors with arrest and conviction records, who were less likely to be "conned" by the inmates, worked alongside counselors in possession of advanced academic credentials. VISTA volunteers, in the correctional setting for the first time, were involved in activities which ranged from academic tutoring to directing sociodrama. In addition, women were utilized successfully as staff with male participants.

Other projects extended experiences in other directions: Project Fresh Start operated within a women's institution, incorporating a half-way house facility into its postrelease plans for inmates (3); and Project First Chance provided social services for families of incarcerated and released men, in addition to its other services (11). (Short descriptions of each ORD funded project can be found in Appendix A.)

It is difficult to capture the exciting atmosphere which prevailed during those early years. For the first time, agencies both outside and independent of the correctional system were given access to still incarcerated criminal offenders.

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\*Manpower Development and Training Act, Title II, Section 251.



The basic format of each prisoner training project consisted of providing vocational training in a limited number of occupations (the "national needs" occupations: barbering, welding, automotive repair) to a limited number of participants. The extent of counseling, prevocational training, remedial education, and job placement activities varied by project.

The multitude of obstacles faced were often as disheartening as the breakthroughs were uplifting. The following problems encountered by Project Challenge are representative of those of most prisoner training projects:

...the strong support for the project expressed by the director of the Department of Corrections and the Youth Center superintendent...did not filter down to middle-management personnel and correctional line staff at the institution... Another problem faced during the early stages of the project development was the loss of key personnel due to offers of permanent and higher paying employment... The project also had to deal with unexpected problems related to the physical location of some of its vocational training areas. (6)

According to other project experience, some of the major barriers to offender success stemmed from the correctional institution itself: manpower objectives were of secondary concern to institutional needs for custody, security, and maintenance; a strong inmate counter-culture existed which held norms and values antagonistic to project goals; or the correctional staff worked under a punitive ethic, often resenting the intrusion of "rehabilitative" or "treatment" projects and their staff. In retrospect, other barriers to long-range offender success were built into the projects themselves, in the low level of skill training available to the inmate, the lack of training-related placements, and the low level of supportive services provided upon release from prison.

## The Manpower Act and Prisoner Training

Amendments to the MDTA of 1962 occurred several times during the years which followed the first prisoner training projects, each amendment making the original legislation a more flexible instrument for meeting a variety of needs for a variety of groups. Legislation culminated in a broad prisoner training program effort on a national scale in contrast to the more limited early experimental and demonstration effort. The chronology of events went as follows:



- 1963 (December) - Manpower Administration Order No. 14-63 published - "Prohibition Against Training Prison Inmates"
- 1965 (September) - Manpower Administration Order No. 26-65 published - "Policy on Providing MDTA Training to Work-Release Inmates"
- 1966 (November) - Amendment to MDTA passed calling for "Experimental and Demonstration Program of Training and Education for Persons in Correctional Institutions" - Title II, Sec. 251.
- 1967 (December) - Manpower Administration Order No. 8-67 published to implement "251" amendment - "Training and Related Services for Inmates of Federal, State and Local Correctional Institutions - Section 251 of the MDTA of 1962 as amended"

Although in 1965 MDTA policy was modified and approval was granted for the training of prison inmates eligible for work release or similar status, the greater proportion of inmates remained ineligible for MDTA.

The 1966 amendment allowed for a pilot program of training in correctional institutions, explicitly including the offender population. This called for the DOL to develop and carry out experimental and demonstration programs of training and education for prisoners in correctional institutions who were in need of employment upon release. Prisoners were eligible for MDTA training if they had never before participated in such training and if their parole hearing was set close to the date of MDT project completion. Manpower Order 8-67, coming a year after the amendment, provided the mandate for a 2-year expanded pilot program of training inmates prior to their release: "It specified diversity in both trainee characteristics and project design; it specified diversity of offender age, sex, and geographic distribution; and it specified diversity in sponsorship, administration, teaching methods, and institutional environments" (15). The "251 projects," as they were called, were administered as service projects, through a partite arrangement among the Department of Labor (through the employment service), the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the various correctional institutions.

Between May 1967 and February 1968, a series of regional conferences was sponsored by ORD both to disseminate the results of earlier experimental and demonstration work and to reach decisionmakers at the State and local levels "who would have to coordinate their activities to implement the projected national pilot program..." (96). The resulting volume of papers produced for the conference and discussions that followed each presentation marked both a highpoint of years of progress and expanding knowledge and an end to the further funding and development of institutionally-based projects which were experimental in nature--except, that is, for a few special R & D projects and the Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections.

# Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections

The Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections (EMLC), funded in 1968 at the site of the earlier Draper Project, represented ORD's continued concern with inmate training and its attempt to bring continuity and refinement to its fund of knowledge in this area. The "corrections lab," as it has been referred to, was specifically established to: (1) Explore training and related problems; (2) assess experimental strategies (terminating those efforts not paying off and adjusting new strategies); (3) clarify problems uncovered in earlier projects; and (4) conduct studies which would "build towards a solid reservoir of knowledge and technology or lead to policy change and development in the Manpower Administration's prisoner training program..." and disseminate these findings among professionals, practitioners, and policymakers in the field of correctional manpower (56).

During its first funding period (9/68 to 2/70), EMLC conducted studies which were primarily exploratory and which complemented the earlier prisoner training effort. Studies included: Barriers to the employment of released prisoners; the effect of labor mobility assistance on the postrelease economic status of the prisoner; and factors within the prison environment which appeared to affect markedly the manpower training effort. During its second phase of funding (3/70 to 8/71), EMLC studies included: (1) An ecological experiment which established a programed living environment for a group of incarcerated offenders; (2) the use of contingency management techniques in vocational and academic training; (3) a training program for correctional officers as change agents; (4) a longitudinal follow-up study of offenders released in the community; and (5) a study of offenders' pre- and post-release interaction with the State employment service. Further work on the above is currently in progress (third funding). Its major dissemination effort and its utilization-oriented publications (e.g., How to with PI -- Programed Instruction (10), Guide for Employment Service Counselors in Correctional MDTA Programs (84), A Self-Instructional Lesson for Correctional Officers (85), The Environmental Deprivation Scale and the Maladaptive Behavior Record (80) ) have had a significant national impact upon prison education and training programs.

## From the Prison to the Community

Early prisoner training projects assumed that the work problems of the offender lay within the offender himself: His lack of marketable skills, his problems relating to an employer, his inability to make use of community resources. Yet, project experience uncovered that: (1) Societal institutions in the free economy erect special barriers for the



former offender; arrest records become formal and informal reasons for the denial of services and employment; and (2) "processing" and labeling by law enforcement, criminal justice, corrections, and paroling authorities perpetuate the offender's experiences of rejection and failure. The offender's problems do not begin when he enters the correctional institution.

If the first few years of offender projects focused on providing the incarcerated offender with some of the tools necessary for entry into the labor market, the latter years focused on alternatives to incarceration, postrelease supports, and social institutional barriers which restricted the employability of the offender population. It soon became apparent that although inmate training could give the offender an employable skill, and with considerable effort effect job placement, it could not ensure that the offender would continue to be hired or be able to maintain employment. While some reasons lay with the offender, projects discovered the unwillingness of the community, the potential employer, and the law to forget or forgive the criminal act and their willingness to apply the criminal label and perpetuate its stigma. Although diverse in methodology and objectives, offender projects in the latter years were similar in that they identified barriers to training, placement, and job maintenance in the social and legal institutions, and they attempted to foster arrangements and linkages to remove those barriers.

**Pretrial Intervention.** It was noted previously that most projects found that incarceration often brought with it outcomes which were self-defeating to the correctional process. Early projects observed that the process of adjudication, as well, carried with it negative social and psychological consequences for the offender and negative administrative and economic consequences for the court and its staff. A pre-trial intervention procedure which would avoid prosecution, the criminal label for nonserious offenders, and the high cost of in-prison training, was exciting both in concept and program.

The Manhattan Court Employment Project (MCEP) (20) and Project Crossroads (21) were funded simultaneously in 1967, the former in New York City and the latter in Washington, D.C. Both were based on the concept of pre-trial intervention: an attempt to intervene in the usual court process after a defendant's arrest by diverting the offender from trial and possible incarceration into a community-based project which provided him with manpower services (including job and training placement, counseling, remedial education). Although the projects differed programatically, procedurally they were alike: Eligibility for participation was limited by criteria agreed to by the project, the court, and the prosecution; participation continued for approximately 90 days, with the possibility of continuation; upon completion, the defendant's performance was reported to the court, and if warranted, a recommendation was made that the charges pending be dismissed.

On the basis of demonstrated project feasibility, and success in increasing employability and decreasing recidivism, what began as an experimental and demonstration effort culminated in a seven-project pilot service program (under the Corrections Task Force of the Department of Labor) (26). Correctional planning at the Federal level (e.g., The Community Supervision and Services Act (106) ) has been influenced by the experiences of the pre-trial intervention projects, while correctional planning at the State level (e.g., State comprehensive correctional manpower models in Illinois, South Carolina, and other States (46-49) ) has been based on a variety of successful project experiences.

**Other Community Alternatives.** A few early projects were designed to work with those on probation and parolees in the community (e.g., Project DEVELOP (38), the Philadelphia Youth Development Day Treatment Center project (40), the Vocational Rehabilitation of the Youthful Offender project (35), and Youthful Offenders Under Training and Habilitation Services (YOUTHS) project (36) ). Each was somewhat different in design, and although none achieved prominence through a national pilot program, their impact on the face of corrections in their States has been far reaching. For example, Project DEVELOP established an employment evaluation and diagnostic center to help parolees prepare for, plan, and attain suitable educational occupational objectives. The project resulted in a redefinition of the role of parole officer for the entire State of New York. The YOUTHS project, which provided vocational evaluation and on-the-job training for adjudicated delinquents, was subsequently taken over by the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission.

Project LIFE is presently studying the effects of financial aid and employment assistance programs on the postrelease adjustment of ex-prisoners (54). The Community Integration Program currently is attempting to determine the effectiveness of a community-based correctional strategy (involving a residential facility) as an alternative to incarceration for sentenced offenders (55).

**Working on Employment.** Spin-off information from prison-based projects revealed that barriers met by the offender in the legitimate labor market soon after project release were keeping him out of the job market. Acting under the authority of Section 105 of the MDTA, the Bonding Assistance Demonstration Project tested whether the exclusionary policies of commercial bonding companies created work barriers for persons otherwise qualified for employment and explored whether former offenders could be bonded without excessive risk (39). The usefulness of the availability of the bond for ex-offenders and the operational success of the project led to what is now the Federal Bonding Program (44).



Survey projects such as "Employment Problems of Released Prisoners" (88) and "The Closed Door" (89) uncovered a host of employment barriers which limit an offender's potential success in employment and which may be unrelated to job performance -- barriers contained within State statutes, which are part of the personnel practices of employers, etc. The "National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions" project is presently attempting to gather and disseminate information on employment restrictions facing the offender and to encourage and publicize techniques which counteract restrictions (52). What are the ways of removing them? A handbook on remedial legislation and other techniques for alleviating formal employment restrictions confronting offenders has already been published and widely disseminated (53).

A small number of projects have dealt with problems of the work situation itself. Operation Pathfinder restructured a traditional employment situation in industry by training supervisors in the application of behavior modification techniques to juvenile parolees and other hardcore disadvantaged on the job (50). Employers involved in the original project have continued to hire parolees. Their original fears about hiring parolees and probationers have all but disappeared as have their employment policies requiring checks with the police to determine arrest records. The Pioneer Messenger Service Supported Employment Project is attempting to create an employment situation for high risk offenders by providing support services within a business environment, i.e., utilizing personnel policies, work evaluations, awards, and other appropriate supports (51).

**The Return to Prison.** Other projects are responding to the lack of coordination and communication between correctional system components which hinder manpower objectives. One currently funded project is attempting to develop a model assessment and classification system for the assignment of offenders to vocational programs (18). Another project is attempting to examine prison industries and their potential role in manpower training (17). A third project is attempting to link performance in prison to parole assurance, by giving the inmate decisionmaking parity with parole and correctional authorities (19). Working with correctional and parole authorities in a small number of States, the project is currently developing and implementing model programs in which the inmate, institutional staff, and paroling authorities negotiate a legally binding document which sets forth objectives agreeable to all parties (in terms of a program to be completed by the inmate) and a specific parole date contingent upon successful completion.

The diversity of approach to the problems of offender employability has been great. The level of commitment has been deep. The following statement, referring to manpower research in general, is especially pertinent:

Relative to other federal sources of research funds, its appropriations have been small, but its impact has been greater than that generated by other research appropriations several times as large. (127)

The proof lies with history.

## II. DETERMINING SUCCESS

### Goal Setting

The assessment of program or project success always necessitates a consideration of goals; the notion of achieving favorable or satisfactory outcome(s) is meaningless without establishing the object(s) or end(s) one strives to realize. Goal-setting guides legitimize and enable an assessment of program and project activities.

If the decade of ORD projects constitutes a "program," what were its goals? According to a recent statement, the overall goals which guided project funding were:

- To gather information on the distinctive needs and difficulties which impede the successful employment of the offender group;
- To explore manpower services and approaches which reach the offender, prepare him for the world of work, place him in a job, and help him achieve employment stability and progression; and
- To establish organizational arrangements and linkages between manpower services and societal institutions which foster manpower objectives for the offender. (113)

It is obvious from these general goals that any appraisal of program success would be subject to wide interpretation, and that each project made important contributions towards their accomplishment.

Some projects claimed success because they demonstrated project feasibility. Others used arrest and/or conviction records and demonstrated decreased recidivism. Still others based success on one or more aspects of an offender's job performance during project participation and after termination: Stability on a job, skill performance, salary, occupational mobility. The refinement of training and educational technology were indicants of success for others. Project performance (i.e., the number of participants served, referrals made, and/or placements in a job) was highlighted by still others. In short, an assessment of success was distinct to the design and purposes of each project and attainable on a number of levels simultaneously (e.g., administrative, programatic, individual).



Have the ORD offender program and individual projects been successful in achieving their goals? The answer to this question is not relevant to the mandate of this paper. However, the question itself raises a number of important issues relating to goal-setting in general: Whether goals are stated prior to program or project inception, or superimposed at a later point in time; whether goals have changed over time in response to new knowledge or needs; whether goals are specific enough in form to allow their meaningful use in estimating success; whether goals have a temporal component, so that short and long term assessments are distinguishable. Whether a program or project achieves "success" is strongly related to the form and nature of the goals it sets.

It is evident that projects were successful in achieving employment goals. For example, the Manpower Development Training project implemented by EMLC found that 6 months after prison release, experimental group participants worked more and had higher wages than a control group (81). Restoration of Youth Through Training placed its experimentals in more white collar jobs than it did controls, jobs which were more demanding and which contained an on-the-job training component (2). Project Crossroads found that its successfully terminated participants, 12 months after project participation, had better jobs, higher wages, and steadier employment than a matched control group (24). Graduates of the Vocational Rehabilitation of the Youthful Offender Project improved in work performance from project entrance to termination (35). Graduates of the Philadelphia Youth Development Day Treatment Center had high job placements (40).

Although both pre-trial diversion projects (Manhattan Court Employment Project and Project Crossroads) found a decrease in recidivism among project participants, most other projects were not designed with control samples or postrelease follow-up measures. A longitudinal follow-up investigation of the postrelease behavior of paroled or released offenders from an MDT prisoner training project found similar recidivism rates for MDT and non-MDT releasees (but more time spent employed among the MDT releasees over an 18 month period) (86).

Project effectiveness is demonstrated by the degree to which goals are realized. However, project efficiency, the amount of resources needed to realize a goal, may be as important, although less frequently taken into account, in ascertaining success. The benefits of any project to the offender, the community, and the social institutions can be measured in benefit-cost terms.\* Project

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\*"The benefit-cost ratio is an investment criteria (sic) which states that decision makers should invest in those projects for which the ratio of the present value of benefits to the present value of costs is greater than unity." Project Crossroads. Final Report, p. 45.

Crossroads was able to calculate the financial benefits of the intervention procedure, the reduction of recidivism, and the earnings of participants (25). Although other costs and benefits (e.g. social, political) are important in deciding whether a project should be undertaken, economic considerations have particular relevance in these times of overburdened courts and correctional facilities.

RECOMMENDATION 1. Goal-setting and related activities should play an important role in program planning: (a) General and specific goals should be established for various performance stages; (b) priorities should be indicated; (c) qualitative and quantitative indicants of goal achievement should be specified; (d) a monitoring system for goal achievement should be developed; (e) a periodic reassessment of goal relevancy should be undertaken.

## Recidivism and Success

The frenzied search for ways to reduce recidivism has served both to legitimize the manpower approach in working with criminal offenders and to utilize recidivism rates in assessing project success.\* There is little doubt that unemployment and recidivism are linked, even if the nature of the linkage is in dispute. Daniel Glaser proposed an employment-crime causal relationship. His study of the Federal correctional system suggested that ". . .unemployment may be among the principal causal factors involved in recidivism of adult male offenders" (111). Other researchers have suggested only a co-variance of employment with criminal activity, noting the greater significance of other more truly explanatory variables.

Project findings reveal that men arrested for criminal activity or rearrested when on parole are likely to be unemployed and/or have poor employment histories.

Although it may not be important to "decide" the "causal-co-variance dispute" in this paper it is important to note that one's point of view will dictate project design, the variables considered relevant to research project goals, etc.

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\*Recidivism is defined as a habitual or chronic relapse into crime or other anti-social behavior patterns. Some projects measure recidivism by rearrest record, others use reconviction. Few look at seriousness of charge or frequency of rearrest (or reconviction).



While the relationship between unemployment and recidivism should not be dismissed, nor the desirability of recidivism reduction as one of many project goals be questioned, an overemphasis on the importance of reducing recidivism can be harmful to a project's other goals. For example, the reliance on a rearrest and/or conviction rate may limit the exploration of other variables in determining success (e.g., life-style, environmental supports). It may also detract from the importance of finding answers to distinctly manpower questions: Has the project been able to give an offender a job skill? Have projects uncovered the kind of supportive services an offender needs to obtain and maintain steady employment? Have projects discovered and/or created those jobs and work atmospheres which are conducive to employment success? Have projects uncovered societal barriers to offender employment and/or have they taken steps to reduce them? In short, there are valid manpower questions and missions which deserve exploration and action regardless of their relationship with recidivism.

Recidivism statistics, at this point in time, might best be used as a tool to refine a project's design, services, etc., by distinguishing between those individuals who "make it" and those who don't. It becomes incumbent upon a project to utilize the statistic to refine the project so that a continually increasing proportion of participants are successful, rather than to tout the statistic and use it for comparative purposes with other dissimilar projects (as often done).

RECOMMENDATION 2. The goals of increased employability and decreased recidivism should be viewed as distinct, each fulfilling different needs and often requiring different program designs and assessment activities.

## Specifying Assumptions

Offender projects have been built upon certain assumptions about the nature of man, the role of work in society, and institutional change, all of which have been linked together to some extent. The ordinary role an assumption plays in any project is to serve as a paradigm or framework which guides a project in its choice of topic, variables, questions, design, technique and interpretation of data. That is, for every question framed (and unframed), for every technique utilized (and avoided), and for every interpretation offered (or withheld) a set of assumptions exists which has dictated the choices.

When assumptions remain covert and unexplicated, as has been the case in many offender projects, they are not subjected to the refinement, qualification, and alteration they may deserve. And since assumptions are related to an ideological orientation, ideology continues unquestioned where it might best be challenged.



While many assumptions at different levels of analysis enter into every stage of project implementation, the following three general statements seem to underlie most ORD projects:

- Offenders desire a work role in the legitimate economy of society;
- An offender given the alternative of and opportunity for a work role will accept it; and
- An offender who accepts this work role will desist from criminally deviant behavior.

Recently added assumptions are:

- Societal institutions create and maintain barriers for the offender to enter the legitimate economy.
- Institutional change in the direction of eliminating barriers (a) can take place, and (b) will foster change in the offender in the direction of increased employment.

A decade of project experience has proven these assumptions to be naive and oversimplified. For example, it is clear from the survey that not all offenders, given an opportunity to work (reasonable employment), either want to work or are capable of functioning in a work environment. Which offenders are they? Which offenders will work regardless of participation in a manpower project? Which offenders benefit most from a particular group of manpower services? Is there a sizeable population whose antisocial behavior can be altered, and at what stage in life is this most possible? Although this study would like to detail those answers and in the process refine the above assumptions about offenders who desire work, it will not be possible because: (1) The precision of information in project findings is limited; (2) participant successes have been highlighted while the failures have largely been ignored; (3) there has been a tendency on the part of projects to externalize "failure" rather than to utilize it to further project knowledge and refine project design.

RECOMMENDATION 3. Program assumptions should be overt and explicit and open to refinement and alteration as programs continue.



### III. THE PARTICIPATING OFFENDER

#### The Offender as Disadvantaged

The criminal offender is perhaps the most disadvantaged of the "disadvantaged".\* According to most projects he has all of the deficits of the economically and culturally disadvantaged non-offender, accentuated by: (1) Increased self-doubt; (2) formal and informal employment restrictions; (3) experience in a non-rehabilitative prison environment; and (4) an almost irreversible label of "criminal" and the accompanying stigma.

The criminal label becomes a confirmation of failure for the offender: a label that confirms earlier failures at school (most offenders have not finished high school and are reading two grades below their completed level), failures with peers (social relations within peer groups are superficial), failures in the family (testing reveals considerable hostility to both mother and father - when present) and failures within the community (in both its legitimate and illegitimate enterprises).

The criminal label brings with it formal statutory restrictions which positively sanction discriminatory employment practices (not related to the offender's ability to perform in the work situation), and informal personnel hiring policies which pose invisible barriers.

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\*According to the 1972 Manpower Report of the President, ". . . a disadvantaged person is a poor person who does not have suitable employment and who is either (1) a school dropout, (2) a member of a minority group, (3) under 22 years of age, (4) 45 years of age or over, or (5) handicapped. Members of families receiving cash welfare payments are deemed poor for the purposes of this definition" (p. 59).

According to the U.S. Department of Labor's Interviewer's Handbook (1969) the following is a portrait of the culturally disadvantaged applicant to manpower programs: (1) has completed less than high school; (2) is hampered in learning by living conditions, personal problems, and negative attitudes toward school; (3) may be silent and uncommunicative but will tend easily to aggression, acting-out and limit-testing behavior; (4) will have a history of failure and self-doubt; (5) will have deficiencies in nutrition or problems requiring medical and dental attention (p. 3).



The prison environment has been a discouraging one for many projects. Prison security takes precedence over creating a rehabilitative environment. Prison industry and maintenance tasks remove offenders from programs designed for reintegration into the community. Good work habits are not expected or motivated. The prison convict-culture mitigates against legitimate economic aspirations. Correctional officers frequently resent the intrusion of "coddling" rehabilitative programs. An atmosphere of rejection, dejection, and failure discourages hope, involvement, and trust. Parole requirements and procedures may counteract the effects of a well-conceived and administered project. Manpower projects which attempt to work within this environment and attempt to effect environmental change meet administrative and staff resistance.

The transitional period following graduation from a project is critical for the offender. Both prison and community-based programs find that it is in the first 6 months after program termination that most recidivism takes place. Release from prison (a situation of control and dependency) to a free world environment (independence and responsibility) is particularly difficult.

In short, all of the above factors add to the difficulties of an already disadvantaged individual.

## The Participating Male Offender

Projects have stimulated and initiated the collection of demographic and social history information previously absent in the correctional system. Information has been gathered on the offender-participant from achievement, aptitude, intelligence, and personality tests as well as operational insights. Similarities among participants in all projects is striking.

The following profile is a composite of a "typical" male project participant and does not differ greatly from the offender population in general:

- Is between 19 and 25 years of age
- Comes from a living area characterized by a high crime rate and high residential mobility
- Emerges from a "female-based" household harboring feelings of hostile dependency toward his parents
- Is a drop-out or push-out from high school
- Spends free time "hanging around"
- Forms superficial peer group relationships
- Lacks "middle-class" goals, aspirations, and values

- Is untrained, unskilled, and with no career potential
- Has a history of crime which started during the early teens
- Has a low self-concept and no self-confidence
- Has been socialized into a culture of failure.

The minority group offender is younger, with a weaker educational background and poorer employment history (not to mention his minority status) which combine to place him in an even less advantageous position for legitimate economic success.

The following discussion of educational, employment and psychological characteristics of the offender has been added because of its particular relevance for program development.

**Education.** The educational profile of the average offender-participant reveals a high school drop-out or push-out, reading several grade levels below his school completion year, and who is severely retarded in most other academic areas. For example, offenders are often unable to read their own mail. Projects have concluded that this low educational achievement level is not attributable to either low intelligence or lack of desire to achieve. One project which studied reading disorders in juveniles raised the possibility that illiteracy, low achievement, and apparent lack of motivation for learning may be the outcome of learning disabilities (e.g., dyslexia) which are difficult to diagnose and remedy (91). Most projects noted the participants' "training" in failure, blaming the educational institution. Whichever explanation chosen, the offender confronting the world of work is educationally handicapped.

**Employment.** The employment profile of the offender-participant in both community and prison-based projects is laden with multiple handicaps. Discounting offender differences in age, race, educational background, and experiences with the legal system, an employment background of extremes in expectations emerges. Participants hold unrealistic fantasies about obtaining jobs for which they are clearly unqualified, or feel there are no alternatives to the menial, dead-end job.

Because of limited social and economic exposure, participants in the Special Services for the Misdemeanant Youthful Offender Project (SSMYO) had "unrealistic appraisals of their capabilities to qualify for and perform in various occupations. . . (and were) unrealistic about salaries they expected for certain levels of employment" (5). The Lorton project noted that participants had unrealistic information concerning employer hiring standards (1). The younger the offender, the more he exhibited a lack of work

experience, job hunting experience, and skills that were either in demand or in shortage. Juveniles in project GET SET received their first exposure to the world of work (4). Older offenders had most of their employment experience in low-paying, high turnover, unskilled and semi-skilled, dead-end jobs. Long-range vocational goals were infrequently encountered. Criticism on the job was taken personally and the normal authority of a supervisor was resented. Of the offender population participating in the 26 "251" prisoner training projects, more than half had been unemployed or underemployed at the time of arrest, and over two-thirds had been unemployed during 1 or 2 months of their last year of freedom (13). It should be kept in mind that this profile, if at all biased, has been drawn largely from the noncareer or "low-risk" offender group.

**Psychological Profile.** Projects utilizing psychological tests produced a personality profile of the offender-participant from which one can readily understand his lack of employment success. Although each offender does not exhibit each of the characteristics listed below, the following characteristics are consistently uncovered:

- Inability to plan or work towards long-range goals
- Low frustration tolerance or tolerance for normal stress
- Low or unrealistic aspiration level
- Inability to tolerate delay of rewards
- Impulsiveness
- Self-centeredness
- Broad mood changes in response to events
- Negative self-concept, self-image, self-confidence.

"Immature" was the term most often repeated by projects to characterize offenders. The offender's perception of his powerlessness and his inability to alter his environment through the consequences of his own behavior are also mentioned.

## The Successful Participant

Which participants have proven successful in manpower projects? The answer is unclear for a number of reasons: (1) different projects have screened-in similar populations; (2) where differing populations have been screened-in, project differences have clouded comparisons; (3) comparisons with a control group sample have infrequently been made; (4) individual projects have screened-in a homogeneous participant group so that internal group



comparisons are not possible; and (5) few projects have correlated participant characteristics with "success" criteria. "Success" as we have previously noted is an elusive term, being defined differently by various projects (e.g., training completions, length of postrelease employment, increased wage).

A synthesis of project findings (some quantitative, some qualitative) leads to the generalization that participants who are relatively more "successful" (in terms of a combination of manpower and recidivism criteria, combining short- and long-term measures) in offender projects are those with a history of greater personal success. That is, the successful participants are older, more educated, are employed upon arrest, or have had a relatively good employment history prior to entering prison or a community-based project, are married, and have supportive interpersonal relationships in the community (3, 14, 21, 23, 24, 86). Employment per se is related to non-recidivism, as is the use of leisure time for family activities, hobbies, and physical exercise (86). These variables seem to hold valid for both community and prison-based projects. Race, as a variable, is significant only as it is linked to other more discriminating variables, such as age, employment, education. The differential value of the variable of sex is unclear.

It is equally unclear from project findings whether criminal history and/or charged offense is related to either short- or long-term participant success. The majority of projects did not assess success by holding criminal history variables constant. It should be noted that "plea copping" practices in the court often disguise the arrest history and further complicate the use of records. The little information gathered on the drug abuser reveals that this offender is perhaps the most difficult to aid (20). Only two projects have been specifically designed to focus on the problems of the former narcotics addict: One is a survey which assessed existing business practices concerning drug use by employees and employer relationships with manpower and drug addiction control agencies (94); the other is a supported employment commercial messenger services which has been designed with the needs of the ex-addict in mind (51). Most other projects which worked with the addict did so through an error in the screening process and did not isolate the group for separate evaluation. Restoration of Youth Through Training did not focus on the addict but got encouraging results with a few who participated in the project (2).

It is noteworthy that some of the assumptions made by projects about potentially successful participants have been shown to be invalid. For example, youthful offenders (i.e., 16-17 years) were by legislative mandate a target population in early studies; projects have since concluded that older offenders are better risks (although we are unsure whether this is related to time of criminal onset). Similarly, criminal history has been used to screen individuals from

offender projects (i.e., first offenders receiving precedence); however, employment history (i.e., time previously employed) appears to be the more predictive variable.

It is unfortunate that the few characteristics used to correlate with offender "success" have been largely sociological in nature (e.g., age, education) even though many projects have had participants undergo extensive psychological testing.

RECOMMENDATION 4. Sociological and psychological information on the participant offender should be gathered and integrated by programs to (1) construct and refine alternative designs and techniques, and (2) evaluate the relative effectiveness of alternative strategies on different participants.

## Selecting the Participant

The question of the selection of offenders for participation in projects often revolves around the issue of "creaming": should a research and development project provide services to a carefully selected (screened, "creamed") group of offenders who have a high potential for success, or should it offer participation to all offenders (regardless of their potential for success). Conflicting concerns of morality, politics, research design, penal philosophy, and operational practicalities give the question and answer greater complexity than is apparent initially. Unfortunately, a needless and oversimplified polarization of opinion has occurred labeling projects which "cream" as wanting to "look good" and labeling their directors as "bad guys." Project directors who provide participation opportunities to "high risk" offenders are viewed as "good guys." This polarization completely ignores the facts that all (1) project directors want a successful project and (2) not all projects are appropriate for all offenders.

Designing projects for a low-risk population is neither unreasonable nor undesirable for an untested, experimental program conducted with a deviant population in an often hostile setting of "law and order." But since most projects have been geared to the low-risk offender (with the exceptions of Restoration of Youth Through Training, Project LIFE, Pioneer Messenger Service), it has limited ORD capability (1) to discover and plan for the needs of the high-risk offender, and (2) to discover whether the differences between the high and low-risk offender groups (in terms of criminal history and other sociological variables) are more important to project planning than are their similarities.



At this point in time, project participation cannot be made available to all offenders. The issue of "creaming" for both community-based and prison-based projects cannot be considered apart from (1) the contextual realities of each project, and (2) the specific services each is capable of rendering. Experiences with community- and prison-based projects reveal that they are implemented under formal and informal restrictions of the criminal justice and correctional systems under the auspices of personnel who favor the participation of the "low-risk" offender (i.e., the offender with the shorter arrest, conviction and prison record, more stable employment history, higher educational background, and devoid of psycho-medical problems such as addiction or mental retardation).

**Community-Based Projects.** Selection of participants in community-based projects is as likely to be shaped by political realities and restrictions as by program or project design. Pre-trial diversion projects, for example, work within a criminal justice system based on an ethic of punishment and with court personnel responsible to and dependent upon the continuing support of a public of potential victims. Under these circumstances it is not unreasonable for the court to be reluctant to release a felon involved in a charge of violence or the use of a weapon, or to desire to experiment with a new project incorporating the least "dangerous" criminal.

Externally imposed restrictions come in both the formal and informal variety. The former ordinarily concerns the criminal history of the offender and is put into writing as part of a "contract" between a project and a court, prison, etc. The latter concerns the offender and "establishment" and project staff's assumptions about an individual on a case-by-case basis. Staff size and capability, project aims, and prior knowledge of the offender and offender projects also play important parts in selecting participants. As positive reports filter back to court and correctional personnel and the project gains credibility, selection criteria are usually enlarged. The Phase I, formal selection criteria for the Manhattan Court Employment Project found on pages 28-30 are particularly enlightening both for the number of restrictions and reasoning involved (20). The use of informal case interpretations by probation intake officers pre-screening juveniles for Project Crossroads eventually caused referrals to dwindle to the point that it dismantled its juvenile division (22).

The less restrictive selection criteria used by probation and parole projects may be the result of expedience; overloaded probation and parole officers have used ORD projects as service adjuncts.



In addition to externally-imposed restrictions, projects select participants based upon assumptions about offenders and their needs and the type of services they feel are necessary to meet those needs. For example, the Manhattan Court Employment Project believed that an intensive short-term project with an employment thrust is inappropriate for the drug addict, alcoholic, pimp, gambler, and emotionally disturbed offender (20). Final assessment of this project revealed that, as suspected, drug addicts terminated unfavorably and maintained high recidivism rates. Project Rejoin found that participants with serious personality problems did not work out successfully (7). Project Crossroads concluded that the employment-focused project as presently implemented and conceived might not be appropriate for juveniles (24).

RECOMMENDATION 5. Community-based programs which have proven relatively successful with the low-risk offender should continue to be either refined in design and technique to yield a higher proportion of successful participants or institute more stringent screening measures to enroll the potentially more successful participants.

#### Selection of Participants, Manhattan Court Employment Project -- Phase I

1. He must be male. Most women defendants are arrested on drug or prostitution charges. We are not equipped to deal effectively with drug problems, and we doubted we could have an effect on women charged with prostitution who were accustomed to an income many times that of any job we might refer them to.

As for women defendants charged with something other than prostitution or drug possession, use, or sale, we excluded them because of concern about the innumerable extra problems that dealing with women would present to the project's representatives, who are not professional counselors and who have many difficulties to work out in their unaccustomed role. However, we plan to accept women once we feel our counseling response is adequate.

2. He must be between 17 and 45 years old. Defendants who are 16 years old are excluded because the law requires them to be fulltime students, because of the difficulties of finding employment for them or establishing an independent welfare case, and because of the fact that they are usually not independent enough of their parents to deal with us themselves. Persons over 45 are excluded because they present placement problems, usually have long criminal records or are alcoholics, and do not easily fit into a counseling group composed mainly of people in their twenties.

3. He must be a resident of New York City with a verifiable address. People living outside New York have difficulty meeting the requirements of group counseling attendance, are difficult to visit, and are hard to locate if they do not appear for scheduled appointments or drop in at the project office. Persons living in the city but without a stable address are more likely than others to disappear, and if they do, finding them is impossible.

4. He must not be identified as a drug addict. Persons using drugs heavily do not benefit from an employment project, and we have been inadequate in persuading those who come undetected through our screening process to seek treatment for their addiction. We exclude all persons accused of drug possession (except marijuana) in the belief that a high proportion of them will be addicts and the knowledge that we cannot distinguish an addict from an occasional user in the screening stage. But even though all persons entering the project have "clean" drug records, a quarter of them prove to be addicts, and they constitute a large proportion of the defendants we do not serve effectively.

5. He must be unemployed, or if employed be earning no more than \$70 a week plus \$5 for each dependent. An employment project obviously can be of most use to those who do not have jobs. Nevertheless, some people who are already working might benefit from our services if they could be persuaded to seek better jobs or possibly enter training programs to enable them to do so. The District Attorney's office originally felt that we should accept only unemployed defendants, and it was through discussions with that office that we finally arrived at the \$70 figure, although that is an artificial cutoff point and we do not always adhere to it literally.

6. He must not be charged with certain crimes. The nature of the charge against a defendant is a key determinant in how seriously his case is regarded by the court. Bail is consistently set higher for defendants charged with serious crimes, and if they are convicted, sentences are stiffer. It would be extremely unrealistic to expect the court and the District Attorney to release such defendants. Therefore we automatically exclude persons charged with homicide, serious assault, forcible rape, and armed robbery.

Various so-called sexual perversions and a host of serious but rarely occurring crimes (arson, kidnapping) are also excluded, but the number of defendants is small.

Other charges are excluded because of our assumption that we cannot successfully work with the defendants: we do not accept gamblers, pimps, and others who make good money in the street economy because we cannot compete financially with their accus-

tomed income. We exclude all defendants who are charged with public intoxication on the assumption that most will be alcoholics. Alcoholism, like drug addiction, is beyond our capacity to treat.

Although the criteria do not formally bar them, we have gradually made a practice of eliminating from consideration persons accused of violations (such as loitering and disorderly conduct) since the magnitude of their potential sentence (a maximum of 15 days) is so small as to make their cooperation less likely. Our experience with the persons charged with violations whom we have accepted justifies this exclusion; only 21 percent have achieved dismissal of charges, compared to an over-all project dismissal rate of 39 percent.

7. He must not be a full-time student. Persons who are at school cannot benefit from an employment project unless they are seeking work at least part-time. Most high school students are too young for us to consider, and nearly all college students are middle-class.

8. He must not have previously served more than 6 months in prison. Like the seriousness of the charge, a defendant's prior record is key to how the court regards the case. After consultation with prosecutors and administrative judges, we decided to take months in prison as the most important deciding factor in a man's record, rather than the number of prior arrests or convictions. Prosecutors and judges, using their discretion, often exclude defendants with numerous previous arrests, even though they have served less than 6 months in prison; but our project screeners do not eliminate defendants on this ground.

9. If he is on probation, he can participate only with the consent of his probation officer. A defendant who is arrested while he is on probation is liable to imprisonment on that basis alone. Although technically the project could take a participant in this situation and work with him for 3 months, we do not do so if we know in advance that his probation officer plans to prosecute for the probation violation after the participant has completed his time with us. In practice the great majority of probation officers are glad to cooperate and waive prosecution for the violation. Probation officers are kept informed of the progress of participants who are their responsibility; if the progress is marked, it may be a deciding factor in ending the participant's probationary period.

10. He must not have more than one other pending case or, if charged with a felony, another pending case on a felony charge. Like defendants with lengthy prior records, those with a number of pending cases appear to be bad risks to prosecutors and judges, and this rule excludes them.



Although most projects in the community have not been designed for the multiple offender, Project LIFE and the Pioneer Messenger Service are notable exceptions. For example, the Pioneer Messenger Service is currently attempting to screen in the "undesirables" which other projects have excluded and to design a commercial business which meets the work abilities of a group of ex-addicts, recovering alcoholics, and the multiple ex-offender (51).

RECOMMENDATION 6. Community-based programs which are currently working with the medium and high-risk offender should gather information on offender characteristics critical to the further development of programs for this population.

**Prison-Based Projects.** The selection of participants in prison and institutionally-based projects has been shaped largely by (1) prison administrative and organizational needs, (2) the requirements of MDTA regulations, and (3) informal staff evaluations.

Prison custody, security, and industry needs often eliminate specific inmates from project participation. Concurrence in selection by an existing prison Classification Committee is often mandatory (although this often becomes no more than a formality for some projects once they "prove" themselves).

MDTA requirements have also been restrictive. An individual is available for project participation if (1) he has release eligibility soon after completion of training, and (2) he has not completed MDTA-sponsored training within a period of one year prior to application to the present program. It is perhaps ironical that both of these criteria ignore the merits of "prevention" and habitation. First, while release after training is desirable, a program which begins upon entrance into prison (not exit) may begin to counteract the prison convict-culture. Second, while an argument can be put forth for giving the limited number of program slots to those individuals who have not already exhibited failure in a similar program, an equally logical argument may be made for the merit of regularity and repetition of the experience of project participation, i.e., the stable regimen it introduces to the offender (111). The lack of long-range success by many participants in their first training project is substantiated by the finding that 22% of those eligible for participation in the pre-trial diversion pilot projects had completed a training program in the community prior to arrest (26).

RECOMMENDATION 7. Program involvement for the institutionalized offender should start at the beginning of the prison sentence and be designed to carry the offender through the prison experience and his transition back into the community.

Although the above constraining considerations are external to a particular project, many prison projects have further limited the selection of participants to those who meet arbitrarily imposed standards which it is hoped will carry a high potential for success. Projects have typically refused participation to the addict, the alcoholic, the mentally retarded, and the manifestly anti-social (evidence now available indicates that although participation of the addict in a training program may lower his rate of return to jail, addicts still comprise a very high percentage of the recidivist group (20)). In the SSMYO project "a selective bias operated that strongly favored younger men with short criminal records. . ." (5). The Draper project selected inmates who had educational levels in keeping with the requirements of classroom work in their chosen vocational fields (8). RYT selected individuals able to pass specific IBM screening tests (2). Even the service oriented "251" prisoner training projects were skewed to the younger, property offenders, first time incarcerated, serving a short sentence (12). The ecology unit at the Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections was comprised of young, first time incarcerated offenders in its second phase (58). Perhaps only Project Challenge and Restoration of Youth Through Training were designed to screen-in those inmates whose characteristics would have excluded them from the above projects and who presented disciplinary problems for the institution (2, 6).

RECOMMENDATION 8. Alternative "tracks" for institutionalized offenders should be developed which are appropriate for the cross-section of low, medium, and high-risk offenders. The differential impact of each approach on differing offender groups should be assessed.

It is ironical that the older male and female offender have been excluded from most projects, yet are likely to be successful when involved in a project. A current ORD project is seeking to develop model classification systems for adult correctional institutions which will improve the quality of decisions made regarding inmate assignment to vocational programs and activities (18). Its effectiveness, however, will ultimately depend upon the range of alternatives available.

# The Female Offender

Although a recently funded project is gathering information on projects across the nation which work with the female offender, the female offender remains neglected for a variety of reasons noted by projects: (1) Female adults comprise a small fraction of the incarcerated offenders; (2) they are arrested for and convicted on charges which either disguise more serious problems or which are themselves considered not amenable to rehabilitation through present manpower projects (e.g., larceny-theft, drug use, prostitution); (3) sentences are often of short duration (e.g., 10 days to one year); (4) the female offender who is a mother will be receiving financial assistance in the form of welfare payments. To some degree the benign neglect of the female offender may reflect a more general societal neglect of her problems (e.g., child care, discriminatory employment practices). Criminological theory and research also have focused on the male offender at the expense of the female offender. Yet the increase in female arrests and convictions over the last decade is alarming (e.g., male arrests in 1970 rose by 4 percent, while female arrests were up 11 percent\*).

RECOMMENDATION 9. Problems of the female offender should be explored. Findings should be instrumental in the development of programs to which an appropriate share of resources is allocated.

# The Juvenile Offender

Since most ORD projects have worked with the adult offender, they have had much less to say about the juvenile offender. The information available, however, reveals the following:

- The sociological and psychological characteristics cited for the adult offender adequately describe the juvenile, except that the juvenile offender is more immature, less able to see his role in the legitimate community, and has fewer years of criminal experience;
- The juvenile offender suffers from barriers to employment which are unique to his age group;

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\*Uniform Crime Reports -- 1970, U.S. Department of Justice: Washington, D.C.



- Some of the same techniques which have been successful in working with the adult offender (e.g., contingency management) may be successful in working with the juvenile, although overall project design needs to be tailored to the juvenile's unique problems.

On the basis of what ORD projects have learned about the juvenile offender and anticipating some of the later discussions in the paper, the following is offered:

RECOMMENDATION 10. Programs for juveniles should stress social and prevocational skills, vocational awareness, the experience and regularity of part-time work in a variety of settings, remedial education, leisure time planning, and positive peer group alliances over a protracted period. Preventive projects for potential delinquents are in critical need.

## IV. TRAINING THE OFFENDER

### Introduction

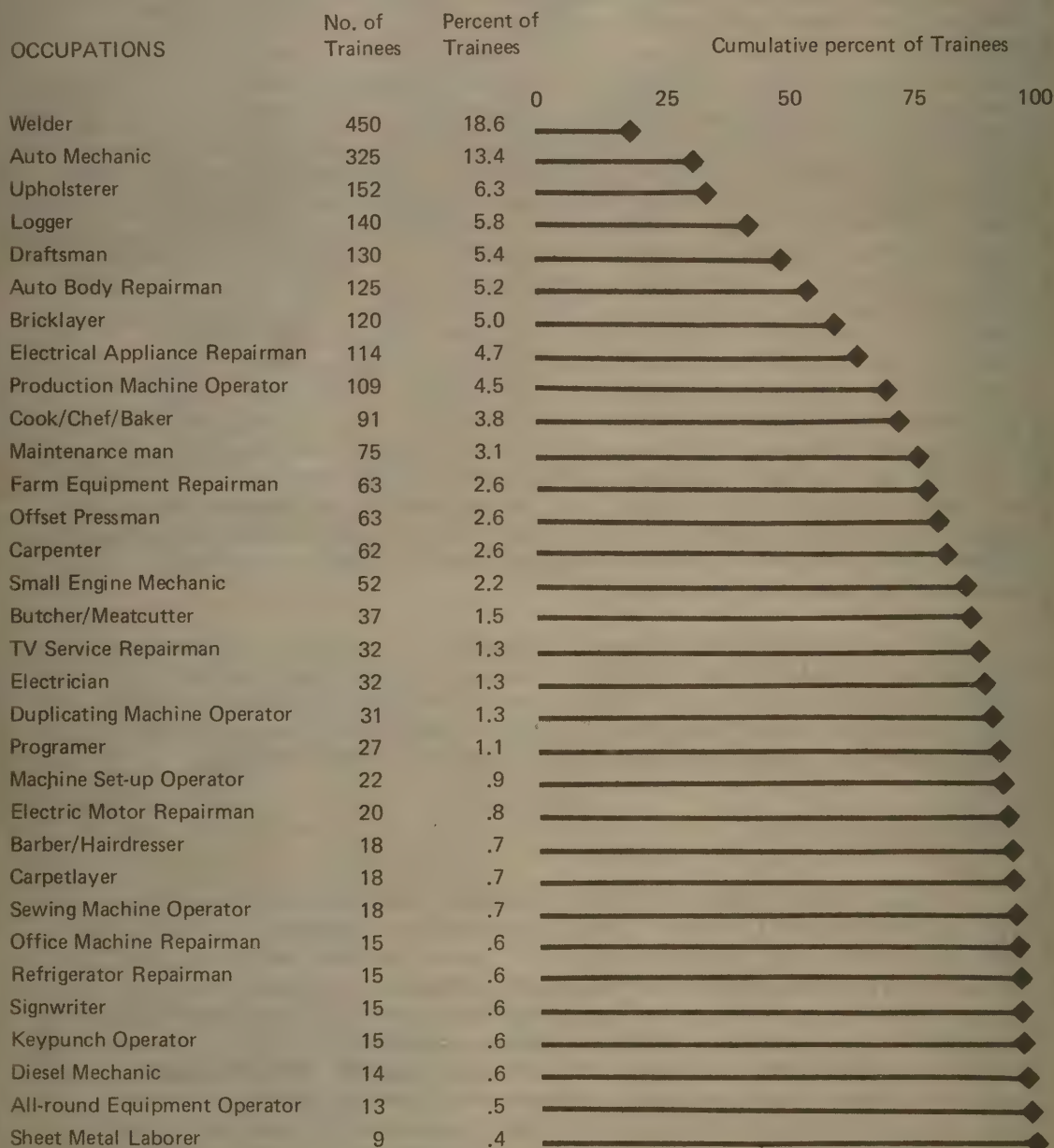
Experience shows that it is feasible to bring skill training projects into the prison, recruit inmate volunteers to participate in training, and have large numbers of inmates complete training despite the often debilitating physical and social atmosphere of the prison. Manpower projects have counteracted some of the negative forces within the prison by: (1) Bringing the community into the prison via special equipment, instructors, techniques, and volunteers; (2) providing a regular work (training) experience (which may be more important for success in the community than the acquisition of a particular skill); (3) expecting and demanding good work habits (e.g., punctuality, neatness); (4) developing incentives appropriate to the prison setting (bringing about behavioral change); (5) confronting and working with typical on-the-job problem behaviors in group and individual counseling (such as hostility towards a supervisor); (6) developing techniques and project designs which create the opportunity for success (e.g., contingency management techniques, programed instruction); and (7) bringing employers into contact with the prison, and soon-to-be-released inmates. While projects have always regarded prison industry as a major obstacle to the delivery of manpower services and have avoided contact with the prison industry whenever possible, a recently funded project will focus on the merits, limitations, and problems of various approaches in involving prison industry in manpower program (17).

The following discussion is limited by a lack of follow-up statistics collected on released prison trainees and the fact that prison projects have varied in quality and quantity of services provided during the training period and postrelease period which have not been accounted for in project assessments.

### Training Areas

Prison-based projects have provided training in a large number of occupational areas. Page 36 contains a composite listing of training areas, as found in the "251" pilot prison training program. Most participants in the pilot program, as well as in the experimental projects, were concentrated in five or six training courses (e.g., welding, auto mechanics, upholstery) (12). To some extent, prison training areas in the experimental projects were selected from those programs already developed in MDTA projects for the nonoffender which fit the physical realities of the prison. Training areas chosen for the "251" program fit the category of "national need."

## Training Areas, 251 Pilot Prison Training Program (ABT Assoc.)





Much has been learned about selecting training areas, although it is in the form of "what not to do" rather than "how to proceed from here." Training was offered in skill areas in high demand in the community but for which fierce competition existed for the openings available (e.g., welding, auto mechanics, auto-body repair) (93). Training was sometimes in areas considered undesirable by other disadvantaged groups for reasons of working conditions and salary (e.g., hospital and restaurant work) (93). A strong educational background was needed for training in some areas (e.g., refrigeration repair, radio and TV repair). Low starting salaries and a high initial cost of tools was a problem in others (e.g., barbering). Some areas of training had no market (e.g., technical writing). In general, projects did not take into consideration the seasonality of employment, wage levels, occupational status, or the needs of the community to which the offender would most probably be returning upon release (12, 14, 93). Although most projects surveyed prisoner interest prior to project selection and training area placement, their interests did not play a significant role in the initial selection of training areas (15).

The training areas selected reflect middle-class biases concerning the type of work an offender is capable of and should be performing: most training offered was in blue-collar and service occupations.

There is some indication that white-collar positions are desirable to the offender, although aptitude and interest may play a large role in determining offender success in employment. It is unclear which offender is more likely to benefit from such training. The Pownall study suggests that offenders trained in professional, technical and managerial work performed better after release from prison than those trained in blue-collar occupations (88). Restoration for Youth found that the inmates trained in data processing functioned well in this demanding white-collar job (2). Some offenders desire placement in jobs which are attractive because of the social status accorded.

The addition of new training areas, both blue- and white-collar, should be considered. One report submitted to DOL proposed a pilot project for the employment of offenders in government (118). Another report to the legal services program of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) concluded that lawyers in OEO legal services projects are devoting a significant amount of time to "lawyering" activities which could be delegated to properly trained and supervised paraprofessionals (110). Training has thus far been omitted in "people-serving-people" areas, such as work with the aged, children, and the handicapped. Training might be offered in prison in conjunction with a work release program.

RECOMMENDATION 11. The selection of training areas for institutionalized offenders should take into account institutional realities and work demands, but also the interests of the offender and his probable postrelease behavior.

RECOMMENDATION 12. Innovative training programs in white-collar occupations should be developed with the assistance of potential employers. Course offerings in blue-collar occupations should be increased.

The desire to individualize training as much as possible has led projects from the "cycle" approach to training to the "open-entry/exit" approach. Project Challenge structured a series of training cycles, each accommodating a specified number of individuals who started and ended training together (16). More recent projects have attempted to individualize training through an open entry/exit structure which allows trainees to progress at their own speed (8). This structure increases the number of offenders who can receive training in a specified time period. The use of specially devised programmed materials has been particularly successful in the educational components of projects (10). An individualized approach is also used in the Corrections-MDT-Parole project which through its Mutual Agreement Programming (MAP) concept has the potential for providing a more individualized approach to a participant's prison experience (14).

RECOMMENDATION 13. Training should be individualized through an open-entry/exit structure which allows trainees to progress at their own speed.

## Level of Training

Short-term entry-level training has typically been offered the offender. Projects such as Fresh Start, which attempted to bring trainees to a level of skill where they could perform on-the-job at realistic levels of production have been rare (3). Training at this level is perhaps understandable since: (1) Employers often prefer to hire at the lowest entry level and do their own skill training; (2) prison and other training programs do not possess the equipment, space, or machinery needed for advanced training; (3) projects are geared to "produce" the largest number of trainees in the shortest amount of time; and (4) trainees with less than a sixth grade educational achievement level can not train above entry level in 6 months (standard training cycle).



However, entry-level training places the offender in direct competition with the large group of non-criminal disadvantaged for jobs where turnover is high and the chances of on-the-job upgrading are low. It is not surprising that jobs obtained by offenders are not training-related and that turnover occurs within a few months following placement. With a specific commitment from a specific employer (e.g., the Riker's Island project (2) ) entry-level training in the prison may suffice when it is followed by on-the-job training at the plant with other employees. However, this is not the typical project arrangement.

RECOMMENDATION 14. Training programs, both prison and community-based, should work towards specific commitments between those who do the training and those who control job entry to (1) assure a training program and level of skill which takes employer's needs into account and (2) provide a direct link between training and potential employment.

## Prevocational Training

Effective job performance also depends upon the acquisition of work-related attitudes and social skills. One project concluded that "...the difficulty facing many of the (trainees) was not an ability to learn specific work tasks... but an inability to adjust to the general work setting and to exhibit the proper traits required of most workers" (36). Most projects noted that making an offender employable includes attending to his ability to work regular hours, enter into social relationships with co-workers, work under competitive pressures in the community, and obtain some satisfactions from work. In short, pre-vocational training may be equally as or more important than skill training, particularly for the young offender with a poor or absent work history. Lack of punctuality, poor work attitudes, difficulties with supervisor and co-workers (i.e., work habits and social skills) are often reasons why employers fire offenders.

Projects which have developed pre-vocational training are in disagreement regarding the nature and scope of work-related behavior, although all agree it is important. In most projects it was usually (1) a minor part of a project focused on training or placement activities, (2) offered in an informal manner, and (3) without a preconceived structure. In one project it took the form of a course in tool technology; in another, a role playing group focusing on worker-supervisor relationships. In one project it was called prevocational training; in another, work adjustment training. Whatever the rubric, the common bond was the emphasis on social, psychological, education, and other skills which enable a participant to obtain and maintain employment. Perhaps it is best described as preparation-for-work training.



Preparation-for-work training has attempted to enable an offender to (1) become aware of jobs available, (2) get a job, and (3) keep a job. How to get ahead in a job has not been emphasized.

Projects have noted that becoming aware of jobs available is a learned skill which is related to prior exposure to the work world. Project GET SET exposed its participants to a variety of workers, visits to work locations, and role-playing work situations (4). In the Philadelphia Youth Development Day Treatment Center project, juveniles took part in an orientation period which allowed each participant to spend time in and sample five vocational training fields (40).

Finding a job, filling out an application form, interviewing with a prospective employer, and asking pertinent questions about a job are also learned behaviors. At present, many offenders lack such abilities. The Manhattan Court Employment Project found that participants frequently failed to report to scheduled interviews without an excusing telephone call (21).

Maintaining a job necessitates learning job-related personnel policies and social skills. An offender should learn to manage everything from competitive work pressures to arriving at work on time. Some experience with the non-offender disadvantaged points to the conclusion that when employers fire manpower program graduates it is usually because of social behavior on the job, and not because of a lack in a technical skill (99).

RECOMMENDATION 15. Formally structured training in job-related areas such as work habits (e.g., punctuality), personnel policy regulations (e.g., telephoning when ill), and social skills (relationships with co-workers) should be implemented in every program.

## Training Atmosphere

A particularly interesting insight of an evaluation of the "251" program was that where a larger segment of the prison population was involved in training, recidivism rates were lower than where institutions had minimal program involvement (15). This is consistent with sociological observations that the setting alone influences its sub-unit members. This observation has implications for both the size and scope of future prison programs (i.e., the number of inmates involved in proportion to the total number of inmates in the prison). One project's conclusion that completing a training program may be more important in providing offender entree into the world of work than the specific training skill acquired points to the importance of mere program participation.

Peer group norms and values which are perpetuated from generation to generation of offenders and the climate they produce are strong barriers to offender "success" both in the prison and in the community. Sociological research also indicates that peer pressure may be more effective than staff pressure in inducing behavioral and attitudinal change. EMLC concluded that "gains in positive attitudes and social skills resulting from prison rehabilitation programs are diluted or completely neutralized when the prison population is not generally supportive" (56). Projects also note that while the physical structure of the prison fosters the influence of a prisoner counter-culture, there has been an inability or unwillingness to isolate inmate project participants from the general prison population. Community-based projects are in a better position to ameliorate this problem by working with the participant, his friends, and family to offset negative peer group influence.

RECOMMENDATION 16. Prison-based programs in which most of the inmate population are enrolled should be considered to counter the negative prisoner counter-culture.

RECOMMENDATION 17. The question of mere participation in a program and its positive effect on employers should be considered when determining the size of program enrollment.

One of the earliest prison projects recommended that the physical, psychological, and social limitations of prison training be overcome by "systematically linking the institutional program to training programs in the community, such as on-the-job training, regular manpower programs, trade schools, etc." (8). Off-site training can: (1) Shape an individual to the specific needs of a prospective employer; (2) avoid rejection from or waiting for an available prison training slot; (3) limit the burden of the prison project to duplicate the equipment and training for a variety of occupations, while enabling a project to concentrate on prevocational training; (4) provide advanced training in a few selected skills to inmates with lengthy sentence (a population not now being served); and (5) provide a practicum for a pre-vocational program.

It is not "new" to recommend the expansion of work-release for the incarcerated individual. The economic arguments for reducing the cost of an inmate's confinement are particularly attractive. However, in the recent past, maintaining an outside job with evening and weekend supervision has been a privilege offered to "good risk" offenders (i.e., minimum security offenders in the last months of their sentence who are likely to receive parole), and even then has been largely underutilized. Yet, work release,



like off-site training, provides one way of normalizing the training and work experience of an individual by: (1) Offering a practicum for skills and habits learned in prison projects; (2) introducing the inmate to the pressures and demands of the competitive economic market while still in a semi-protective program; (3) promoting gradual inmate integration into the free community; (4) offering a chance for financial independence and money management; and (5) providing advanced training for those capable of receiving it.

RECOMMENDATION 18. Programs based in or linked to the community are recommended in preference to programs based solely in the prison. State statutes which provide for the expansion of such endeavors should be supported. Provisions in existing statutes should be implemented.

## Training Supports

**Education.** Although the educational component is critical, it has played a secondary role to the vocational component in most projects. Helping an offender become "employable" has most often meant developing a remedial educational component which works in conjunction with its vocational counterpart. Projects have emphasized the need to raise a participant's educational level so that he can comprehend materials necessary for occupational training. Projects have designed materials to remedy specific learning deficiencies (e.g., reading) and provided instruction aimed at a high school equivalency diploma. Educational achievement (or lack of it) presents a formal and informal barrier to employment.

Prior to ORD involvement in the prison, educational programs were virtually nonexistent and ineffective where they did appear. "Education" in the prison took the form of a fellow inmate taking the role of teacher, or a community teacher coming to the prison on a part-time basis, using traditional methods and techniques in a classroom setting. Expectations for achievement were low, unlimited absences were acceptable. Education in the community reinforced an environment in which offenders had previously experienced failure; evening classes were held in the same building, with the same materials, and by the same teachers. However, project consensus is that most offenders do want to learn.

How does a project introduce a program component associated with participant failure and frustration, to meet the educational and motivational differences among offenders, and the rigidities of physical and administrative structures? Project experience points out that:



- Remedial education is most effective when offered concurrently with vocational (or pre-vocational) training;
- A nontraditional teaching design (e.g., team teaching, individual tutors, tutors in duet with instructional machines) should be employed;
- Nontraditional teaching methods and materials (e.g., individually programed teaching materials and machines, the use of role playing) are more effective than the traditional ones;
- A nontraditional setting (e.g., the "shop" setting) is more effective than the classroom setting;
- Nontraditional teachers (e.g., shop instructors, formerly trained project participants, college volunteers, community workers) can direct the use of educational materials without academic training or certification in the field of education;
- Participation itself, in a special educational program, can be self-reinforcing if it will "look good" for parole consideration;
- The educational component should not be organized as an "after hours" program or be in competition with recreational activities.

In short, projects have made education a more available, acceptable, and successful experience for offenders while relating it to a concrete vocational interest.

The Draper Project (10) and its successor, the EMLC, have been instrumental in developing an individualized experiential program. EMLC has learned "how to" use individually programed instruction (IPI) and has developed materials for wide dissemination (10, 66). The following are important:

- Materials and procedures must be concrete, varied, and short;
- Teaching machines inherently motivate interest, but personal attention and varied activities are needed in conjunction with their use;
- Learning contingencies (e.g., rewards) can be manipulated to encourage maximum performance;
- The use of IPI reduces preparatory and training time when compared with traditional methods.

It is noteworthy that the principles underlying programed instruction are precisely those which also appear to operationalize effectively in the vocational components: Immediate feedback, small units of work, built-in success.

It is possible that a large number of offenders could profit from the teaching approaches developed for individuals with dyslexia (a reading disorder) (91) which may be responsible for inability and lack of motivation to learn.

RECOMMENDATION 19. Nontraditional approaches to education should be developed, tested, and refined for use in offender programs. Materials already developed in offender programs and through other government and private agencies should be surveyed.

**Counseling.** Counseling has meant different things in different projects. Distinctions have been made between vocational and personal counseling. Some projects prefer group counseling while others lead towards individual counseling. "Rapping" has been the major counseling technique in some projects, confrontation in others. The counselor role, per se, has been omitted in some projects and in others forms the crux of the program. The paraprofessional has been hailed by some projects as the only effective counselor with the offender population, while the professional counselor is viewed as "more" necessary by others.

Despite the unfortunate misuse of terminology, obscure goals, unexplored assumptions, haphazard techniques, and disagreement about what to do to whom and under what circumstances, project experience points to an important role for the counseling component. The Manhattan Court Employment Project was one of the few projects to attempt to measure the distinct effect of counseling (21). Project Crossroads used an anonymous questionnaire at project "graduation" to qualitatively assess the counseling component (24).

Counseling has played a less active and less important role in the prison project than in those community-based. Where the counseling component has existed it has often been partially merged with other project components. The inability to isolate or measure the impact of counseling has made it difficult to independently assess counseling "success." There has been a recent tendency to shift from the early counseling emphasis on vocational goals to a co-equal emphasis on personal matters. We suspect that counseling may be the "sufficient" adjunct to the "necessary" pre-vocational and vocational emphases.

The counseling component should build upon: (1) The assumption of a health model rather than a medical model; (2) the quality of a relationship developed between the participant and the counselor rather than any specific information which is exchanged; and (3) objectives which are reality-oriented and behaviorally based rather than therapy-oriented and attitudinally based.

It is the author's conclusion that the assumption of a pathology which necessitates diagnosis and treatment is inappropriate for the manpower approach. A "health" model seems appropriate which assumes capability and presumes that the participant is unfamiliar with and inexperienced in the behaviors and skills demanded of him. The implications for counseling are obvious; if pathology doesn't exist (mental or physical), therapy is unnecessary. If inexperience and unfamiliarity exist, then behavioral training should be provided.

Two corollaries of a health model state that: (1) A participant must bear responsibility for his own actions, and (2) a participant is able to determine the consequences of his own behavior. The Manhattan Court Employment Project (MCEP) found that offenders already out on bail or their own recognizance who are called in for screening tend to do better in the project than those taken from custody. Apparently, the fact "they have returned to the court hearing at which we screen them is some indication of their responsibility and it carries over to their performance in the project" (20). While this is a finding easily overlooked, it underscores the relationship between the assumption of responsibility and success. Its translation into programatic terms can be seen in the "mutual agreement programing" concept incorporated in the Corrections-MDT-Parole project (19). The project provides for an agreement between the incarcerated offender or the parolee and the correctional authorities concerning sentence and parole, contingent upon the successful completion of a program.

Projects have also discovered that a sense of powerlessness pervades the offender: "Most of them have a key characteristic in common: they don't believe they can succeed at anything straight and...would not know how to go about doing it" (20). The ability to shape behavior is readily fostered by the techniques of contingency-management, the token economy, and programed instruction experimented with at the EMLC (64, 66, 75).



Project Crossroads concluded that the least structured, most crucial aspect of project participation is the quality of the relationship established and maintained between the participant and his assigned community worker (counselor) (22). Other project experience supports this conclusion. Whether individual counseling is touted as the most expedient and relevant (22), or group counseling is viewed as essential for trying out ways of identifying and expressing feelings or functional for teaching grooming, interviewing behavior, etc. (20), the resulting counselor-counselee relationship is critical.

The relationship should be characterized by personal involvement, trust, support, and concern to overcome the offender's inability to relate to his peers on more than a superficial level, his hostility to his parents, and his pervasive feelings of isolation and alienation. Relationship with a consistently supportive individual has often been lacking in the offender's history.

A meaningful counselor-offender relationship is not an end in itself, yet some projects have apparently fallen victim to thinking that "rapping" with the participant, or his ability to say what he feels at all times signals "success." An early ORD project, Restoration of Youth through Training (RYT), indicated that while "rapping" serves some useful purposes, it is not sufficient in itself as a counseling technique (2). Behaviorally oriented project state that the offender derives comfort from a detailed script or prescription of how to perform in a new social role. The behavioral approach seems most relevant to this author.

The sum of ORD knowledge thus far leads the author to conclude that the participant needs an individual against whom he can reality-test, someone who can give him perspective on "Why shouldn't I sound off when The Man gets me mad?" He needs help with limit-setting and internal controls, and a role model to respect and imitate. He needs to focus on today's problems and behaviors and their implications for the future. However, projects have learned that participants have difficulty setting long-range goals. Counseling which emphasizes an extended future is more appropriate for middle-class individuals than for the typical offender. Reality oriented counseling, in which behavioral change (vs. insight) is the goal, deals with present situations and builds slowly from there, working against a dependency relationship.

Significantly, the healthy emotional and psycho-sexual development of the child, according to child psychologists, necessitates the appearance of such a figure and approach in a child's life. This has often been lacking in the life history of an offender. Thus, the counselor becomes someone who puts things in perspective and helps shape behavior. Rather than dealing with feelings of insecurity, he deals with behaviors and actions which, when changed, will help the participant feel more secure. This approach to counseling is "teachable" to both the professional and nonprofessional, who in turn "teach" the offender.

Community-based projects (e.g., pre-trial intervention, parole, probation) have used counselors to intervene on behalf of the project participant in his dealing with community agencies; prison projects have largely restricted counselor activities to within prison walls.

RECOMMENDATION 20. Programs should distinguish the counseling component (i.e., assumptions, objectives, techniques) from other program components so that its relative importance in participant success can be assessed and its value in a program maximized. Information from allied fields (e.g., mental health, social work) should be gathered and incorporated into programs.

## Motivation for Training

There would be no need for the present discussion if offender projects could rely on participant self-motivation or inherent project qualities to encourage maximum project performance. While these forces do operate to varying degrees for different participants, they cannot be depended upon to stimulate excellence. It is apparently easier to behave according to previously established patterns of activity than it is to change behavior -- even when the original patterns have been unsatisfactory (95).

Shaping and modifying behavior is at the core of ORD projects, although most projects have used incentives haphazardly and with little understanding of their potential value. Only a small number of projects (e.g., EMLC, Operation Pathfinder) have experimented with and refined technologies for behavioral change which depend upon incentives (reinforcers) and their use.

**Recruitment.** Projects encounter little difficulty in interesting prospective participants; the projects generally offer an alternative to a setting or set of conditions, where few alternatives are available. There are usually more potential participants than project openings in prison-based projects, and more interested individuals than restrictive criteria will often allow in community-based projects.

Are participants motivated for the "right" reasons? Does the possibility of acquiring a marketable skill or a high school equivalency diploma have intrinsic value? It would be unrealistic to expect society's failures to trust "the establishment" and to opt for self-improvement without incentives. Manpower projects are fortunate for the lack of other projects competing as alternatives for the offender. Under such conditions, small incentives are magnified in importance.

Trainees in SSMYO saw the project as an easy source of money (a monetary inducement of \$5-\$7 per week was offered for project participation), an opportunity for special privileges (reserved dormitory facilities were planned, special uniforms given), and an opportunity to get outside the institution (off-reservation work experience) (5). Fresh Start, typical of many prison projects in design, offered the incarcerated offender some relief from the authoritarian atmosphere of the prison and a break in the routine of prison industry and maintenance assignments (3). Most prison projects offered the offender an opportunity to earn early release from confinement by earning "good work" points with the parole board.

Projects based in the community have used other incentives: the possibility of a dismissed charge (e.g., Project Crossroads) or early release from probation or parole upon successful project completion.

Is the fact that participants have entered projects with different priorities and objectives than those of the project necessarily detrimental to success? Most likely not. The few long-range employment statistics that have been collected (while neither definitive nor comparable) lead one to conclude that project participation increases skill level of job performed, job retention, wages, and stability of employment. A more precise method of utilizing incentives would probably increase both short- and long-term gains.

**Major Behavioral Incentives.** Whether or not financial incentives should be used to motivate behavioral change rests largely upon moral, economic, and political grounds. Whether money payments work as an incentive for behavior change is based upon project findings and must be answered in the affirmative -- with qualifications. Although there are still more questions than answers concerning the use of money as a motivator, some aspects of its use are clear.



First, the use of money as a motivator has short-term gains; it can be counted on for initial impact, but it loses its value over time. Second, monetary payments are most effective when they are contingent on performance, and, conversely, money that is granted on a contingency-free basis (especially in the form of a "lump sum") is likely to be misspent. Third, money which is freely loaned is rarely repaid, and often used for purposes other than those originally declared. Fourth, the dispensing of small, discretionary emergency funds in crisis situations is useful (although money used in this way has not been considered to play a major motivational role in behavior change).

The motivational power of the interpersonal relationship is not easily measured but apparently is very strong. According to some projects, the counselor-counselee (staff-offender) relationship characterized by trust, support, and concern may be at the center of a project's strength -- especially when the counselor is a trained paraprofessional utilizing nontraditional techniques (20, 21). The responses to an anonymous questionnaire item completed by "graduating" participants in Project Crossroads are particularly revealing:

"The counselor works with (me) more as a human being, plus with the helping hand and voice (of) experience. They listen to the accused more fairly."

"He has put a little more encouragement into me. Also for just one day a week and a little of your time you really think about what he is all about."

"When she talks to me about my troubles, and I can let myself go, it seems like she understands."

"The most important thing \_\_\_\_\_ does for me is to be a friend." (24)

Both participants and staff in most projects speak highly of the significance of this relationship. Unfortunately its use as an experimental technique has been largely haphazard.

The type of counseling (e.g., individual vs. group) and its particular orientation (e.g., reality therapy vs. rapping) may be less important than the existence of a relationship characterized by trust, concern, and respect. The abrupt dissolution of a counselor-participant relationship may be as damaging to post-project success as it has been supportive during project participation. Since the tendency to recidivate is held in check for a large proportion of participants during project participation, the desirability of a gradual termination from a project may be indicated.

**More About Incentives.** In 1968 Project Challenge noted the paucity of rewards and incentives available in the prison setting which could be used positively to reinforce progress and self-improvement (6). Variables formerly taken for granted (e.g., the counselor-counselee relationship), previously considered unobtainable (e.g., talks with the warden) or unavailable (e.g., home furloughs), are potential incentives. Some projects have looked for incentives in a certificate of training or "graduation" ceremony; others have experimented with using technological "hardware" (e.g., individualized programmed instruction machines) (8), group activity leading to individually desired ends (e.g., refurbishing a half-way house) (5), and social reinforcement techniques (e.g., verbal approval given by a work supervisor) (50). At present, there is reason to believe that these incentives, properly managed, may be as strong as financial incentives are in motivating short-term behavioral change.

Most projects have been cognizant of the existence of incentives and their potential use, but few have understood the principles of their use or designed procedures to utilize them efficiently and effectively. Studies at EMLC indicate that immediacy of reward is desirable, as is immediacy of feedback on performance (64). The Pioneer Messenger Service project states that grading the intervals at which varying rewards are received is important (51). In the Philadelphia Youth Residential Day Treatment Project, awarding certificates of completion to both youth who had been on the school rolls for a period of 6 months regardless of attendance, and to youth on condition of attendance, revealed that contingency planning was more apt to change behavior (40). The contingency-management studies at EMLC substantiate this (64).

**RECOMMENDATION 21.** Programs attempting to shape behavior should understand the principles behind the utilization of incentives. Questions to be addressed include: (1) What behaviors does the program want to affect? (2) What incentives can be used to affect behavioral change (i.e., what incentives are available to which participants will respond)? (3) How can those incentives be used most effectively? Motivational studies conducted in both the laboratory and field settings by industry and the military should be reviewed, in addition to those in offender program.

**Motivational Programing.** Extensive testing of the offender -- his intelligence quotient, educational achievements, vocational interests, personality profile -- has revealed significant information concerning the sociological and psychological make-up of the offender. The technology and materials for utilizing this information are just emerging, and few projects use this aggregate of knowledge to induce behavioral change.



Two projects were designed specifically to capitalize upon what is known about offender characteristics. The Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections (EMLC) (56, 86) or "corrections lab," operates within the prison setting, experimenting with behavior modification techniques, employing the selective and systematic use of contingency reinforcers to modify socially maladaptive behavior. While the behaviors of all inmates are not equally manipulable, nor will they be affected by the same modification techniques, the approach holds great promise for a variety of settings.

Utilizing the principles of contingency-management (C-M), EMLC reinforced a contractual agreement for completed work within a given time period with privileges. For example, to determine how best to motivate an inmate educationally, EMLC examined the relationship between the desired behavior (educational advancement) and various reinforcing consequences (from a cup of coffee to leaving the area for a free-time break). Participants eventually signed contracts which designated modules of educational work to be completed, scores to be achieved, and the reinforcing consequence contingent on that behavior. When a contract was completed and the reinforcing consequence was delivered, a new contract was written. Contingency contracting worked into the offender's need for establishing short-range goals, immediate and concrete feedback, and the frequent experience of success.

The EMLC established a "token economy" based upon principles of behaviorism. A controlled living environment within the prison compound (the "ecological unit") was arranged for 20-30 inmates. Within this environment, EMLC experimented with inducing socially adaptive behavior by rewarding it with points (or tokens) redeemable for a wide variety of back-up reinforcers (i.e., privileges). Convenience behaviors (e.g., making up one's bed) and educational behaviors were the focus of experiments. When inmates involved in the ecological unit were rewarded for "reading" by tokens which were exchangeable for a "license" to use the unit "store" and unit recreational equipment, reading activity rose. When the licensing procedure was discontinued, educational activity dropped to its former level. While the objective of this approach was to demonstrate a viable alternative for controlling inmate behavior by positive rather than aversive controls, it revealed potential for training correctional officers and work supervisors.

It is significant that participant change did not occur in an incentive program attempted at the same institution when the program was implemented by institutional authorities without a full understanding of the principles of behavior modification or the ability to implement the necessary program (67).



The Pioneer Messenger Service (51) is a currently funded project designed to work with ex-offenders within the community in the context of a business enterprise (a commercial messenger service). Its operational design and techniques, viewed in relation to offender characteristics, are promising.

The following are used to compensate for and change those behavioral characteristics often responsible for an offender's economic failure in the legitimate economic community:

- Explicit and known standards of work performance and personnel policy
- Specified procedures for alerting a participant to his errors
- Weekly scheduled evaluations, on both work performance and personnel policy performance matters
- Structured "success" experiences in the first weeks of the program, with an objective, quick feedback and reward mechanism
- Specified positional and salary advancement schedule, based on objectively measured behavioral goals
- Alleviation of some work responsibilities in periods of severe strain and crisis
- Promotion from within
- Gradual assumption of responsibility

The Pioneer Messenger Service works with "high risk" offenders through objectively established behavioral goals and tangible reinforcements for achieving them which are frequently received and consistently applied.

## Project Staff

Professionals and paraprofessionals are able to work together easily in offender programs and paraprofessionals can be trained to be effective in such work. Little has been written about the professional staff member except that he is frequently inexperienced in correctional work, and unfamiliar with the behaviors and attitudes of offenders and their gatekeepers. In part, the need to develop the paraprofessional staff role no doubt arose due to the general failure of some professional staff to develop the kind of rapport and relationship with the offender that leads to improved behavior. While the desirable mixture of professional/paraprofessional staff is unclear, most projects agree that it is important.

It is noteworthy that important job conditions for project participants are not usually considered for project staff; career ladder mobility, frequent "feedback" raises, and internal promotions are not structured for the indigenous paraprofessional. The Manhattan Court Employment Project is one outstanding exception, having always considered staff needs a number one priority (20). Projects expect the paraprofessional staff member to exhibit middle-class work behavior and at the same time establish rapport with lower class participant-offenders.

Since the paraprofessional is often hired for his similarities with the offender, training for personal and job competence is imperative: warrants outstanding, financial debts, severe family problems, negative peer group influence, and inability to work regular hours for extended periods of time are existing problems the paraprofessional may have in common with the offender participant.

Credibility with the offender population, a non-moralizing and nonjudgmental manner, and an ability to devise and utilize nontraditional approaches and techniques have led projects to believe that the paraprofessional counselor can be crucial to offender success. His potential use in other roles has remained unexplored.

RECOMMENDATION 22. The utilization of the indigenous paraprofessional should be explored in a variety of roles (in addition to the role of counselor in which he/she is frequently found).

Projects have concluded that both professional and paraprofessional staff need training: the former to introduce him to a new setting, client, and set of techniques; the latter to structure his work behavior so that it meets the goals of the program. As in the case of the indigenous paraprofessional, the newly credentialed or inexperienced professional also needs appropriate training to work effectively with the offender. Both, however, have a working advantage over the staff in an "established" program: smaller "caseloads," a less rigid organizational bureaucracy, and an atmosphere of innovation and change.

Adequate staff training, in-service training and job upgrading are necessary for high staff capability, morale, and feedback on performance. The weekly staff conference does not preclude the need for in-service training. A lack of project cross-fertilization regarding the training and utilization of staff is apparent. Most projects have developed training programs in isolation of available material developed by others. One analysis of staff orientation and training is found in a document written by the Boston Court Resource Project (pre trial intervention) (34).

RECOMMENDATION 23. Appropriate initial and in-service training are necessary for the differing needs of both professional and paraprofessional staff.

## "Establishment" Staff

Most projects have avoided work with or dependence upon "establishment" staff (staff settled into a defined role and pattern of activity), such as the correctional officer, the employment counselor, the parole officer, the public school teacher and the industrial supervisor. In fact, "establishment" staff resistance has created strong project staff-participant bonds and increased project credibility with the target population.

Project support from top management (e.g., superintendent of a prison or chief of a Department of Probation) often hasn't filtered down to middle-management personnel and line staff. Resistance has taken many forms (the refusal to announce activities (6), the refusal to refer potential participants (22) ). Most projects have taken this resistance in stride. A few have worked with establishment staff and agree that they can perform a more rehabilitative role and one which supports manpower objectives. Projects working with detention staff and with correctional officers have experienced some interest by establishment staff in alternative modes of behavior:

GET SET staff felt "special." They were involved, some for the first time in programing. They were exposed to learning and teaching methods, group sessions, and meetings where they could express themselves without reprisals. Most had never worked in a climate so accepting, informal, and permissive. They were encouraged to be creative and initiators. The shared activity made them feel the "chosen few" and affected their self-image as much as the trainees. These semiprofessionals became more aware of the opportunities within and outside the agency and how to avail themselves of these opportunities. (4)

Correctional officers, usually overlooked as potential positive change agents, when trained in the principles of behavior modification (i.e., nonaversive training) are capable of changing inmate behavior (e.g., requesting items or services prohibited them, cursing while on the job, reporting to work on time, staying on the job) (79, 83, 85). The Correctional Officer's Training Program at EMLC revealed that correctional line officers can learn skills which make them treatment-oriented. They have successfully applied their new skills to change the behavior of inmates.



Projects which have worked with establishment staff have discovered an important avenue to explore, especially since they often suffer many of the same educational and economic problems of the participants. The support of "establishment staff" (1) lessens the risk of project isolation from the mainstream of activity; (2) minimizes their misperceptions of a project; (3) maximizes project carry-over when funding officially terminates; and (4) helps them see the relevance of the project to ongoing program ends.

RECOMMENDATION 24. Programs should attempt to include some "establishment" staff within their operations. Such staff should be retrained and existing roles redefined to meet program objectives.



## V. EMPLOYING THE OFFENDER

### Overcoming Barriers to Employment

Barriers to employment of the offender are embedded as deeply in formal regulations (e.g., State statutes which use such terms as "lack of good moral character") as they are in informal business practices (e.g., requiring continuous work experience). Projects have been instrumental in uncovering many barriers and disseminating information concerning them. Materials have been developed as an impetus for change in State and city governments (e.g., handbook on techniques for alleviating formal employment restrictions confronting the offender) (53). Influential organizations have been stimulated to support erasing these barriers (53). The barriers below are not related to performance on the job and often affect the non-offender disadvantaged as well as the offender.

An arrest record per se is a barrier for State and local government jobs and licenses in many jurisdictions - whether or not the arrest was followed by a conviction and whether or not the record had any relation to the type of work or the ability to perform it. Criminal records are rarely destroyed (despite State statutes to the contrary) and employers frequently gain access to them (89).

As noted previously, the need for fidelity bonding for offenders was uncovered in early ORD projects and led to the "Federal Bonding Program," making bonding in "sensitive positions" available on a regular, non-experimental basis (44). The Federal program has: (1) Removed the "nonperformance" barrier for an otherwise qualified individual seeking employment; (2) initiated change in employer practices and attitudes (the availability of bonding is often sufficient for an employer to hire); and (3) opened employment opportunities for the offender where they had not existed previously. Paid claim defaults as of December 1971 were less than 1.6%, despite the fact that "high risk" offenders were the rule rather than the exception among those bonded. A current project is developing information about laws, regulations, and administrative practices and procedures which operate as barriers to the employment of the offender. The National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions gathers information and disseminates it in the form of a newsletter which includes items on legislative developments, changes in State statutes, judicial decisions, etc. (52). A "how to" handbook with techniques for alleviating employment restrictions has been developed and widely disseminated, and a study of State licensing laws is in progress (53).



Almost every project which has dealt with the training and placing of the offender in employment has had to confront the employer's hesitation to hire. Employers are disinclined to hire the offender when another individual is available for employment. Unfortunately, hiring policies are difficult to pinpoint or attack in a court of law and establish job requirements whether justifiable or not which present obstacles to the incarcerated offender with a poor employment history (89). Racism compounds the already frustrating task of finding a job for the minority group offender (5).

Projects have managed, however, to change the attitudes of some employers and reduce the fears of others. Offenders may be more willing to work than employers are willing to hire. Projects have induced employers to provide supervisors with training (e.g., in techniques of social reinforcement) and to hire the offender (50). Employers hold traditional stereotypes of offenders and are concerned about the nature of the offense committed. Direct contact with project staff and factual information have clarified misperceptions and reduced fears, and the civic responsibility of employers has been elicited.

An offender who has received prior training or been in a vocationally-oriented program is in a more advantageous position (2). Although many employers prefer their own on-the-job training for semi-skilled positions and think that public training programs are wasteful, over-administered, and generally ill-equipped (93), the mere existence of a project and the offender's participation in it has a positive psychological impact on the employer.

The inability to obtain an employment interview, complete employment applications, or take employment examinations while still incarcerated limits the soon-to-be-released offender's employment possibilities. This is particularly ironical, since release on parole is usually contingent upon the securing of employment.

Putting an offender in touch with the potential employer has been partially enhanced by: (1) Implementing the community-based project which gives the offender mobility in the free community; (2) having staff members do "field work" for the incarcerated individual to uncover and secure suitable placements; (3) making available employment applications and examinations, and tutoring individuals in their successful completion; (4) familiarizing the offender with the employer and his demands; and (5) involving the employer in training courses, group discussion with offenders, and advisory councils. Project experiences provided the impetus for the "Employment Service Offender Program" which created a special division within State departments of employment security to work with the offender and with placement officers outstationed in prisons as well as in the community (44, 45).

Educational requirements and mandatory written examinations are restrictive and are often unrelated to good job performance and place a burden on the offender. The statutes of one county reviewed in "The Closed Door" require that a highway maintenance man whose duties revolve around manual labor (such as spreading asphalt, digging trenches, and laying pipe) has the equivalent of a high school diploma (89). Tests for laborers in one State at one time included a written examination as well as a demonstration of physical qualifications and job-related experience.

Most projects have been acutely aware of the educational handicaps of their participants and have tried to alleviate them. In Project Crossroads, VISTA volunteers tutored individual participants in remedial education and towards the high school equivalency diploma (6). The "college corps" in The Draper Project served a similar function (8). Draper and EMLC emphasized the educational area, developing materials and technologies for educational advancement (10, 66).

Financing needed for tools, special clothing, licenses, transportation, and moving expenses prior to employment and a first paycheck can be an employment barrier (81). Financial difficulties have been eased by emergency loans (51), mobility assistance (66), funds for job-specific necessities (e.g., tools), and scheduled stipends (54). Although payment conditions and sums have varied, such payments may help an ex-offender with immediate problems. However, uncontrolled loans are often not repaid, or used as anticipated. Thus far, financial assistance has not borne any determinable relation to employment success. The future findings of Project LIFE should add more light on this topic (54).

Other societal barriers to the employment of the offender have not been overcome. Since employers adapt their hiring and firing practices and policies to the available labor supply, labor market conditions can be a barrier to the offender. When a loose labor market exists, educational requirements are raised. As well-trained, skilled workers are laid off jobs, placement opportunities for the offender become more scarce (93). Unions have occasionally made training and employment in some job areas difficult (3), while in other instances they have been cooperative.

RECOMMENDATION 25. Programs should attempt to uncover barriers to the employment of the offender (unrelated to performance on the job) which are formally and informally imposed by society and develop strategies to remove or circumvent these barriers. Information and strategies already existing should be surveyed.

RECOMMENDATION 26. A major media campaign directed at the business community and public should be undertaken to provide information, clarify misperceptions, allay unwarranted fears, and suggest strategies for the employment of the offender.

## Job Development

Job development on behalf of the offender needs to be strengthened. What has been called "development" has often been little more than uncovering a job opening and introducing a prospective employer to the project and/or the participant with the hope that the participant will be hired and the project will be called when another employment opening exists. Although this may be a first step, job development is a difficult and important process that involves more. The danger inherent in a status quo "development" function is in fitting the offender to the existing market and ignoring potential change in personnel policies and employer practices.

Projects have learned that: (1) Job development is a specialized skill; (2) personal visits are preferable to telephone contacts; (3) it is important to appeal to the civic responsibility of a potential employer; (4) a close time connection is preferable between job development and participant placement; (5) the participant's record should not be hidden from the prospective employer, or his abilities overestimated; (6) coordination with community employment services (e.g., job banks) is important but should not substitute for a project's own job development activities; (7) development activities should feed information back into a project so that employer concerns are taken into account; (8) employers should be made aware of and assisted with on-the-job supports needed by the offender.

The state of the economy has worked to the disadvantage of the job development function; one project found that "many of the larger employers had been approached several times previously by other job developers, and some resent the pressures being placed upon them to hire persons with criminal records" (6).

Informal conversations with project directors indicate that projects have learned more about the role of job developer than has appeared in final reports. This lack of extended discussion on job development is most probably a function of the demands (or lack of them) placed upon projects in their final assessments. "Guide for Employment Service Counselors in Correctional MDTA Programs," however, is a helpful "how to" handbook providing suggestions for: (1) Finding and developing training-related and other jobs for graduates of training programs in correctional institutions; (2) matching individual trainees to available jobs (in



terms of training relatedness, location and other job conditions beneficial to the trainees); (3) arranging for the provision of support and further employment services needed to keep each trainee successfully employed; (4) keeping complete and accurate follow-up data which is needed to bring about improvements in the programs (84).

Projects note that at this time a program must be a "one-stop shop," that is, when the job developer is attached to the specific program and not to an outside agency servicing many programs (21, 23). Since delivery of services is contingent upon maximum communication and coordination among its staff, the allocation of responsibility outside the project for achieving one of its primary goals (job development and placement) would weaken the project (by removing an area of control over its own efforts). When job development has been provided by an outside agency, the results have not been satisfactory.

Obviously, realities of the employment situation must be taken into account when shaping the role of the developer. For example, the job placement division of Project Crossroads found that while the Federal Government was a major source of employment for the District of Columbia, it was unavailable for those without formal education, the unskilled, and individuals with police records. In addition, the service occupations were related to the seasonal tourist trade, and the few manufacturing firms in the area were located primarily in suburban counties surrounding the District (major bus companies ran limited schedules at a high cost to riders) (23). Job development thus depends upon the employment situation, offender characteristics, the potential mobility of a project's participants, etc.

RECOMMENDATION 27. The job development function should be strengthened and training provided. Job development activities should include: (1) Uncovering job openings; (2) fostering non-discriminatory employer hiring practices; (3) developing techniques for bringing employers, programs and participants together; (4) developing a system of supportive services for both employer and participant during the initial employment period; (5) aiding the employer in redefining hiring qualifications and job restructuring.

## Placement in Employment

**Delivery of Service.** The concern for and collection of placement statistics and data has varied from project to project. Pownall refuted the notion that offenders are able to obtain employment upon release: he found that unemployment was significant-

ly higher for the offender than for the national civilian labor force (88). Where a prisoner training project did not have its own placement service, prearranged jobs for postprison releasees were most often obtained through the assistance of the prisoner's family, friends, and former employers and were likely to be low paying, deadend, and menial, accepted by the offender to satisfy a parole requirement. One-third of the offenders who had prearranged jobs were either not hired or subsequently fired because of a lack of qualification to perform the work or because the job was no longer available at time of release. Job placement for the incarcerated is difficult; upon release, offenders are highly mobile and spread throughout the State. Most projects believed that the majority of offenders would be returning to their home community.

Correctional institutions, probation and parole offices, and the Federal and State employment agencies provided minimal assistance in the placement of offenders in jobs. One recent study concerned with the placement of the disadvantaged (offender and non-offender) concluded that local employment agencies revealed little knowledge concerning supply and demand conditions in the local labor markets they served (93). Whether a question of training, competency or resources for job development and placement activities, the ABT evaluation of the employment service role in the 26 "251" prisoner training projects stated that: "...the Employment Service had the formal responsibility for providing necessary job development and placement services. . . (but were it not for the efforts of these other members of the project staffs, job development and placement would usually have consisted of nothing more than filling in forms and referring trainees to listed job vacancies" (14). The Employment Service Offender Program generated partly from ORD project findings has also been limited in effectiveness in job developing, placing, and removing employment barriers (45).

Both prison and community-based projects which have provided their own placement services have had considerable success (e.g., the Draper Project placed 80% of its participants in training-related jobs) (70). Similarly, Project Challenge placed 75% of its trainees (6). However, a proliferation of community-based training programs primarily for the nonoffender disadvantaged (e.g., Opportunities Industrialization Center in Washington, D.C.) and the limited number of employment openings places a variety of manpower programs in competition with one another for training and employment slots.

Training-related placements were viewed as proof of project "success" in early training projects. When handled by State and local employment service agencies, the training-related statistic fell considerably. Starting salaries for training-related place-

ments have sometimes been higher than for other placements, with greater subsequent gains (6). Training-related placements have always been difficult to secure: projects have not always been able to find one when a man is eligible for parole or training completion, and such a placement is not always available in the city to which an ex-offender is returning.

RECOMMENDATION 28. Programs should handle job placement for their own participants and not rely upon external agencies.

**Mobility and Stability.** An important distinction exists between job mobility and employment stability: the former is the length of time an individual is employed in a particular job before changing jobs; the latter is the percentage of time an individual works per year.

Whether a project provided job training and/or job placement services, offenders were apt to leave their first job within a few months following project termination. The Pownall survey of Federal prisoners released after vocational training in prison calculated a 4-month median for postrelease job retention (88). Project Crossroads found that almost all former participants were working in non-Crossroads jobs within 4 months after project termination (22). Statistics from the Federal Bonding Assistance Demonstration Project Program revealed that young offenders left bonded jobs within 3 months (39). EMLC figures reveal a mean of about 5 weeks on a first job for prison releasees, with a range of 0 to 12 weeks (86). In short, job mobility for first-job placements was high. However, it should be pointed out that high job mobility did not necessarily mean lack of project success and was often part of a stepping stone process in which a temporary dead-end job was taken until a more desirable opening is available.

Little information exists on employment stability. The few studies which gathered such information indicated that offenders who had participated in these projects spent a greater percentage of their post-project year working (than their pre-project year) and received higher wages and more highly skilled positions. Project Crossroads revealed that "one year after project termination, over half of all the participant sample had been employed for at least 80% of the year" (as compared to one-third of the group having been employed 80% of the year prior to project entrance) (24).



Project experience has suggested that job retention is a function of job characteristics (a job's prestige and status can be as important as salary in determining satisfaction and stability) (6), work atmosphere (a position offering occupational and social mobility on white, middle-class terms can be uncomfortable, stressful, and anxiety-laden for the black, disadvantaged, ex-offender) (6), personnel policy requirements (employees are often fired for reasons of attendance, punctuality, sick leaves, vacations) (51), type of training offered in projects (prison training projects in particular do not enable an ex-offender to meet the pressures of demand production) (6) and employer commitment to helping a new employee succeed (21).

It has been previously noted that there is a correlation between an individual's characteristics (age, marital status, employment background, educational achievement) and general employment success. An offender's inability to relate to his fellow workers (22) or to keep personal, off-the-job problems from influencing work behavior (50) are particularly important.

There is some evidence that pay increments -- size and frequency -- are related to job retention, although there is controversy over how related initial salary is to hiring. The Manhattan Court Employment Project noted that starting salary was not a clue to whether a participant would stay on a job. A close connection in time between training and placement may reduce the likelihood of a drop in skill level and work-related habits. Offenders placed in training-related jobs may remain in their first job for a longer period of time than those not placed in such jobs (70). The lower the job level, the less likely a fidelity bond will bridge the gap to stable work (39). Lack of information makes it impossible to address the issue of the differential impact of the above factors upon job retention and stability.

RECOMMENDATION 29. Longitudinal studies should be undertaken which monitor post-program employment histories with specific attention to correlates of job mobility and employment stability. An attempt should be made to understand the world of work from the offender's viewpoint.

## Working with the Employer

**Job Retention.** An employer's commitment to helping an offender succeed in the work world is vital. Attitudes, conceptions, and misperceptions of employers about the offender influence hiring practices. A survey on "Employment and Addiction" found that employers viewed the drug user negatively and that less than a majority felt that rehabilitation efforts had any definitive effect on drug users; more than half of the employers never had any

contact with drug users (94). If the term "criminal" had been substituted for the term "drug user" in the interviews, we suspect the results might have been similar (if not as dramatic). The focus of the ORD effort has been on the offender -- who he is, what he needs, how he can be "processed" into a successful employee. Relatively little attention has been paid to the gatekeepers who will ultimately decide whether an ex-offender is to be hired or fired -- the employer and personnel supervisors.

Although a number of legal and structural barriers which restrict the hiring of ex-offenders have been uncovered through ORD projects, factors which are conducive to job maintenance have remained more obscure -- particularly from the point of view of the employer and/or supervisor. Yet, the experience of Operation Pathfinder (50) and the Correctional Officer Training project (83) reveals that while it is exceedingly difficult, it is possible to work with, and not in spite of, "the establishment." It may well be that until large scale industry commits itself to working with the offender long-range offender success will not rise significantly.

The conclusion of Operation Pathfinder is persuasive; the key to job retention is supervision, regardless of whether employees are disadvantaged or "normal" (50). According to one staff member at MCEP, "What firms seem to be looking for are. . .hard-core unemployed who behave like middle-class employed after several Pat O'Brien lectures by a supervisor" (20).

It may sometimes appear that the employer has been exploited; he has often been wheedled and cajoled into hiring a "poor risk" candidate who has received only a fraction of the supports necessary to make him a successful employee -- all without regard to the business interests of the employer. Hiring interviews have often been misused by the offender (causing enough concern in some projects to have a counselor accompany a participant to an interview) (22). Smaller firms have been used as a testing ground for participants whose attitude or lack of experience have indicated they might not be successful on the first job. "Using smaller firms in this way we do not jeopardize our relationship with companies that may have many jobs for participants in the future" (21). Offenders who are neither ready nor suited for a particular working environment have been placed there because of a need to "keep placements high."

Employers have not been involved enough in shaping employment-oriented projects whose "graduates" will eventually be seeking employment. Although various forms of advisory councils have been used for aid, support, advice, and "clout" in opening up the job market to the offender, these councils have usually been constituted after a project has been operationalized and their effect-

iveness has been limited. Some projects have involved the employer in an occasional "rap" session with a group of project participants to give the offender a valid picture of the requirements of work. The occasional project that involved an employer in preparing a course of study has found this link-up enhances placement.

**Linkages.** The Training and Technology (TAT) project working with the disadvantaged (and now accepting offenders on work-release) has shown that gearing training to a prearranged job can be successful (41). Although the size of the population pool from which TAT has selected its trainees, trainee motivation, type of training offered and level of attainment achieved, and the simulated working conditions of the "real world" sharply distinguish this project from offender training projects, the concept of linking training to a guaranteed job and implementing a project which has been shaped by a future employer has worked with the non-offender disadvantaged.

Large-scale employers prefer to train their own workers. They seek skilled experienced workers to fill skilled positions and fill unskilled, good paying positions with internal referrals (3). On the other hand, this may be a discriminatory technique to avoid hiring the offender.

Projects have given potential employers the impression that "follow-up" supportive services would be provided to hired offenders participating in the project. While community-based projects have generally provided counseling services for the duration of project participation (22), prison-based projects have done little more than use "follow-up" as a data collection phase engaging the services of non-staff for this function.

Operation Pathfinder, one of the few ORD offender projects working with the employer, encountered resistance when employers were asked to change work practices (50): employers did not want outside training for their supervisors; they did not want "research" done with them; they did not want to become involved in a government program; they did not want to hire the disadvantaged, especially the ex-offender. Companies who had participated in programs for the disadvantaged did not want to repeat the experience. In short, resistance to offender projects which requested operational changes on the part of the employer was high -- but then again, so was the resistance of the criminal justice system to the early ORD prisoner training projects.



Understandably, employers expect certain standards of job performance and attitude. Projects found that newly hired employees lost their job within a short period of time because of job-related behavioral problems. Supervisors have exhibited a general inability and/or lack of desire to cope with the on-the-job behaviors of offenders and other disadvantaged which are incompatible with the effective operation of industry (50). Yet Operation Pathfinder successfully utilized behavior modification and social reinforcement techniques (verbal and non-verbal), to reveal that procedures and techniques can be used which profit the employer and employee.

Redesigning a work environment (including changes in personnel policy and procedure) is no doubt difficult. Studies have shown that businesses engage in job redesigning on their own impetus only in times when labor is in short supply (93) or when the economics of the situation demand it. Although labor is not in short supply today, problems of lateness, absenteeism, high turnover and poor job performance are being encountered frequently enough to provide a "foot in the door" to promoters of change.

The Pioneer Messenger Service project offers one example of a redesigned work situation (e.g., small salary increases over progressively lengthened intervals provide the feedback and success experiences the offender needs to maximize his performance). A project in the proposal stage would like to explore the possibility of opening government jobs to the ex-offender and structuring job-upgrading into the employment plan (118).

RECOMMENDATION 30. Employers and supervisors should be involved in (1) Designing programs which prepare the offender to meet realistic production demands, (2) creating a direct link between programs and a waiting job, and (3) designing a work environment which is mutually beneficial to offenders and employers.

RECOMMENDATION 31. Programs should be designed to supply the newly employed offender with supportive services for on-the-job and off-the-job crises, and assure the potential employer that these services will be forthcoming.

**Social-Occupational Climate.** Differences in the social-occupational environment of a job may play an important role in job adjustment. Most offender projects have traditionally been concerned with whether an offender's salary and/or skill level has increased (in comparison with employment held prior to project entrance). Yet there are indications that longevity and satisfaction in a job (important to both employee and employer) may be de-

pendent upon the social-occupational climate in which the ex-offender is placed (e.g., social and production pressures) (50). For example, projects found that "lower-class" offenders often feel uncomfortable in "middle-class" environments, which eventually affects both the preferred geographical location of jobs (22) and the specific employer chosen (3). Projects also found that training a man in restaurant skills does not necessarily enable him to cope with the production pressures of the "grill." It is not clear which type of employment and employers have been most successful with offenders. According to some projects the larger employer offered more benefits, on-the-job training, and job upgrading. Other projects concluded that small and medium-sized businesses were characterized by a friendly atmosphere and less rigidity in hiring and personnel policies and were preferable for offenders.

RECOMMENDATION 32. Programs should identify critically discriminating work environment variables (i.e., social-occupational climate) as a first step to the development of occupational profiles. The social-occupational demands made upon an employee should be understood before an offender is placed in employment.

Most projects have not considered the merits of the offender as a small businessman. An early project uncovered multiple business failures for the offender who attempted to "make it" in his own business without any assistance (87). The situation could be different with technical assistance.

RECOMMENDATION 33. Employers/supervisors should be made aware of existing motivational research which can be harnessed in curbing maladaptive employee behavior (e.g., lateness, absenteeism).

## The Transition to Work

"To introduce a man who has been locked up for five years to a world that he has forgotten, that he has never learned how to live in effectively in the first place, to a community that is as uncertain of him as he is of it, can be as cruel as keeping him locked up. . ." (75). The process of transition from the community-based project is also difficult. Repeatedly, studies have shown that the first several months (3 to 6) following release from any project are crucial in determining postrelease success.

The transition from prison environment to free community, from dependence and lack of responsibility to independence, alternatives, and decisionmaking, from routine to lack of structure, and from "serving time" to planning for the future has been one of the most critical and least understood phases of offender habilitation. Marital, financial, housing, and legal problems can be traumatic for the released offender. Project Fresh Start referred to this transition period as "postrelease shock" (3). Two common examples are an inability to transfer a skill learned in the prison setting to employment in the community setting and an inability to use leisure time wisely (e.g., staying sober).

Experiments at EMLC revealed that released prisoners who had community supports (e.g., family, religious) were more likely to find stable employment than those without those supports (81). The Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS) and Maladaptive Behavior Record (MBR) developed by EMLC are instruments which can be used to predict offender success in the community and to differentiate among those community supportive services most needed by individual offenders (80, 86). The EDS is a 16-item checklist of environmental influences on the individual in a variety of areas such as occupation, organizations, and interpersonal relationships. It not only provides an overall index of potential adjustment in the community but also pinpoints the areas of deficiency so that retraining or intervention can be planned. The MBR is a checklist of an individual's responses to his environment in the areas of work, adjustment to co-workers, alcohol consumption, gambling, fighting, money management, etc. A longitudinal follow-up investigation of postrelease behavior of paroled or released offenders concluded that the EDS and MBR predicted law-violating behavior with high accuracy (86). There is no reason why these scales cannot be used preventively in programing.

RECOMMENDATION 34. Programs should identify an individual offender's need of support within the community (utilizing predictive instruments available), investigate the availability of such support (in the form of a potentially supportive figure or agency) and design a strategy for the delivery of the support needed (over a specified period of time).

"Follow-through" has been less frequent than follow-up, but both should be viewed as distinct entities; the former indicating a period of partial project termination, the latter a time period important for the gathering of statistical data. Project termina-



tions have been relatively abrupt, and contact with a former participant after termination has been mainly for the purpose of data collection. Under these conditions, participants have been difficult to locate (EMLC has published an informative "how to" handbook for locating the terminated participant) (66).

Termination may bring with it special problems which have been overlooked because of the emphasis on training and placement. For example, although a 3-month pre-trial intervention period may be adequate to meet court demands and to present successful project dismissal statistics in a final report, it may not be time enough for offenders to learn to manage their problems. That is, a lengthier project period for some offenders might increase proportionately long-range success.

RECOMMENDATION 35. Problems pertaining to the stage and process wherein an offender is terminated from a project should be considered.

The transition from the community-based project is perhaps less traumatic because the participant has been "in touch" with the community, his family, his friends, and has been handling personal and work-related problems as they arise, with the support of a staff member.

## Support in the Community

Projects differ on what they consider to be "supportive services." For some, counseling itself has been the project's primary supportive service. For others, those services which the counselor could not provide personally (e.g., health, legal, welfare, family counseling) were viewed as "supportive." The issue highlights the fact that a variety of problems arise during and after project participation which the offender is unable to handle without external aid. According to Pownall's survey of the postrelease problems of the inmate, supportive services are particularly vital to his success (88). Manpower projects have not elaborated on the community-based problems of the offender which arise during his confinement. Therefore this discussion is limited to those community supports needed by and available to the released offender and the participant in a community-based project. Information available on this topic is also scanty.

Projects have concluded that existing community services are unknown and underutilized by the offender. Community agencies (e.g., schools, employment agencies) which have pledged cooperation to projects have been hesitant -- reluctant -- to extend themselves for the offender population (5). To some extent, the realities of exhausting caseloads, long waiting lists, and tightly drawn budgets have inhibited their delivery of services and the establishment of "outreach" programs.

Projects have disagreed about the value of the local employment service in placing project participants. The preponderance of opinion and statistical evidence is that traditional staff and techniques, lack of aggressiveness, and a status quo approach have not been successful with this population. The Employment Service Offender Program (ES Model) attempted to correct some of the above but did not succeed in providing the range and quality of supports needed by offenders (45). Most projects have developed a placement division of their own, utilizing their own staff.

The extent to which a project should develop its own supportive services or should rely on existing community services depends upon the specific situation. Projects have generally developed vocational training, personal and vocational counseling and educational components, leaving most other services to community agencies.

Projects based in the prison have remained largely within themselves, with minimal postrelease supportive services. Community-based projects, more aware of and structured for the needed linkages, have made more use of community agencies. In general, projects have used their staff as "advocates" for the offender before community agencies as specific needs have arisen and as referral agents and have tied specific community agencies into the project by a referral agreement, or by stationing an agency representative at project headquarters. Representatives of community agencies have been involved in "advisory boards," but with limited effectiveness.

RECOMMENDATION 36. Programs should explore potential coordination with community services (e.g., employment, welfare, housing, family counseling). Constraints which have prevented effective communication and coordination should be identified and removed.

Other community-based figures (e.g., wife, parent, parole agent, probation officer, volunteer) could also be trained to fill this support role. Projects have found that welfare problems, pending legal charges, housing difficulties, marital problems and an assortment of other crises necessitate immediate action -- or

on-the-job behavior is affected. The "improper" use of leisure time (e.g., hanging around, riding around in a car) has been noted by a number of projects, in connection with recidivism. Recreation and leisure-time planning is a potential "supportive service" which has been largely unexplored.

RECOMMENDATION 37. The use of volunteers to provide transitional support to the newly employed offender (or one in the process of transition from prison to community) should be explored when staff and family support is limited.

Involving the family of the participant in a manpower project has been attempted on a limited basis in prison projects (in the form of an "open house") (6) and in community-based projects (in the form of a group meeting for families of the offender (36).) This has usually been on the assumption that training and placement are not enough to counteract a negative home environment. Projects serving youth have particularly emphasized the necessity of active intervention in the home (4). Yet projects remain unsure as to how to intervene with the family and whether or not family intervention is in fact related to long-term success. Projects have found that youthful offenders are independent of their fathers, often dislike their mothers, and that adult offenders are likely to be unmarried.

Knowing a participant's family environment certainly enables a project staff member to be more effective. There is no reason why relatives of incarcerated men should not know what is happening to them -- or be shown how to be supportive upon their release. There is also no reason why a project cannot work with an offender's family to help them prepare for his release.

RECOMMENDATION 38. Whenever possible, the family of the offender should be encouraged and shown how to play a supportive role in the adjustment of the offender.



## VI. PROGRAM ASSESSMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

### Program Assessment

During the decade of offender projects a shift in assessment strategy has taken place. Some of the change has probably been due to a change in the nature of assessment demands placed upon projects by the Department of Labor; greater rigor in the use of the experimental design has been required. Some of the change has come from an evolutionary process in project funding: a shift in emphasis from studies concerned with "feasibility" to studies concerned with long-term effectiveness. Undoubtedly, some of the change has been due to the increased methodological sophistication of contracting agencies and project directors.

What is most relevant for manpower programing is the increasingly significant part assessment concerns play at an early stage in project design. Projects have suggested that the early inclusion of a well-conceived assessment component helps to clarify program goals, and when introduced to staff at an early stage in job orientation increases cooperation with the assessment effort. Project Crossroads is one of the few projects which undertook an extensive assessment of its effectiveness (23, 24, 25). A close tie between program assessment and effective programing is suggested.

RECOMMENDATION 39. An assessment component should be an integral part of planning from a program's inception. During their initial orientation, staff should be introduced to its rationale, proposed techniques, and the part they will play.

RECOMMENDATION 40. Periodic program reassessment should be undertaken so that appropriate findings can be converted into program improvement.

Control group samples have increasingly been included in assessment designs, anticipating important comparative questions to be addressed throughout project and program operation. The validity of between-group comparisons of any type, however, may be lowered when assessment plans are made ex post facto. Follow-up information on offender participants (i.e., at 6 months, 1 year, 15 months after program termination) has increasingly been viewed as important in assessing long-term project effectiveness.

RECOMMENDATION 41. Program administrators should demonstrate a knowledge of basic designs and techniques that are appropriate and available for program assessment.

A lack of concern with the interface between theory and program implementation has hampered projects in their attempt to create a cumulative picture of "what works" and "why." Underlying assumptions about the offender, the social order, and manpower issues have rarely been made visible so that the findings of one project have not always been used to refine the assumption or guide the design of succeeding projects. Theories held by sociologists about the criminal offender and the criminal justice system have only infrequently been considered relevant to program design.

RECOMMENDATION 42. Program administrators should understand those theories of behavior and behavioral change which establish the rationale for their program and exhibit a broad knowledge of programs and findings related to their present undertaking.

Preoccupation with quantitative information has sometimes eclipsed the need for qualitative assessment of a project's effectiveness. For example, a great deal of readily codable information has been gathered on the offender participant (age, education, years of employment) while qualitative data (the process of training staff) has been largely overlooked. Both play an important part in thorough project assessment.

RECOMMENDATION 43. The importance of both qualitative and quantitative information in program assessment should be recognized and provisions made in the assessment strategy to gather and utilize both types of information.

## Program Development

ORD projects have often become permanent programs. For some projects an appropriate agency has continued the project as originally structured, incorporating it into its own operations. For other projects component parts were selectively adopted for continuation. For yet others the project has led to a pilot program which has in turn influenced national and/or State legislation and planning. Although strategies for permanent change have differed, the point remains the same: promising and successful projects should be continued and explored further.

RECOMMENDATION 44. Large-scale programing should be based upon a sound demonstration of success in either a pilot or comparable program.

Until recently there has been a lack of interagency coordination and planning for the offender on all levels of government. For example, projects currently funded by several Federal agencies reveal an overlap of project concerns with no strategy for cross-fertilization of information, combined funding, or a design to build project upon project as the cumulative knowledge base broadens. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) has given heavy support to projects having a strong manpower component: the Illinois Department of Corrections is conducting a job training and placement program for ex-offenders; the Oklahoma Department of Corrections is establishing a prerelease center to help offenders make the transition from institution to community life. A recent project completed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) analyzes barriers to inmate training and postrelease employment in New York and Maine. The degree to which each project becomes a learning device about manpower issues relevant to the offender which will transfer across agency boundaries remains to be seen.

Conclusions reached in one project must be refined in subsequent ones. For example, many differing projects sponsored by different agencies have concluded that paraprofessionals (especially the individual indigenous to the offender's community) are valuable in offender projects. A variety of newly funded projects and programs are hiring these paraprofessionals. However, corollary questions concerning the type of training necessary, the kinds of roles best performed, and the problems of this group are not being explored, and it is likely that if they were the answers would remain fragmented.

RECOMMENDATION 45. A clearinghouse should be developed for the cumulation, synthesis, refinement, and dissemination of information generated by ongoing programs.

Emphasis is presently being placed on such terms as "coordination," "comprehensive planning," and "linkages" in program development. The Corrections-MDT-Parole project, through "mutual agreement programing," is attempting to link corrections with parole (19). State comprehensive correctional plans are currently attempting to coordinate the development and design of offender programs (46-49). None of these represents a conceptualization of a "manpower systems approach" to the problem of offender employment. Part of the problem lies with the false assumption that a "whole" can be made out of a group of projects by placing them under the administration of one agency, by arranging them in sequence, or by giving them a common objective.



The terms "systems theory" and "systems approach" are bandied about in a variety of academic fields. Theoretically, they refer to an integrated set of relationships based upon a hypothetical set of variables. Operationally they are a useful tool for understanding the operation of an institution, a process, a bureaucracy, etc. A "system" denotes an operational entity in which the whole functions as whole by virtue of the interdependence of its parts; it can be described in successive stages; and it has boundaries which distinguish it from its operating environment. It is a communications net, which permits the flow of information in a self-adjusting process.

The law enforcement-judicial-correctional-parole relationship could be viewed as a system. For example, Mutual Agreement Programing, at the core of the Parole-Corrections-MDT Project (19) encourages contract negotiations between an inmate, project coordinator (acting on behalf of the inmate), a representative of the institution, and a member or representative of the parole board. This contract specifies the program to be undertaken by the offender while he remains in prison and a parole date contingent upon its successful completion. This is a beginning. However, the current philosophies, objectives, and strategies of existing criminal justice and correctional agencies are largely fragmented, competing, conflicting, and noncommunicating. Although manpower programing alone cannot overhaul the criminal justice rehabilitative machinery, it is apparent from this study that manpower assumptions, hypotheses, findings, and conclusions can play an important role in creating a "system" where chaos presently exists.

RECOMMENDATION 46. Communication and coordination between offender programs should be established with the creation of a manpower services delivery system as the objective.

## VII. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has attempted to synthesize the findings of offender projects funded by the Office of Research and Development of the Department of Labor and point out directions for future programing. ORD has had impressive results from its "offender program." In the course of 10 years it has: (1) Raised the level of information about the criminal offender as a manpower resource; (2) created alternatives for the offender and for the criminal justice and correctional institutions where none had previously existed; (3) developed and tested strategies and techniques for behavioral and institutional change; (4) employed a new type of staff in major project positions; (5) created linkages between and among community agencies to focus on offender problems; (6) initiated change in social institutions and State regulations; (7) increased general public and business awareness of the special needs of the offender population; and (8) influenced statewide programing and Federal legislation.

However, we entertain no fantasies about the degree of change which manpower projects for the offender can help to bring about. Some offenders will remain unemployed and unemployable no matter what programs are available. Some employers will resist hiring the offender despite efforts made to reduce irrational fears and to provide both employer and offender with supportive services. Some members of the criminal justice-correctional institutions will defend against reform regardless of the collective evidence indicating long-term benefit. Some members of the public will always be blind to social injustice and discriminatory practices around them, notwithstanding exposure through the media.

Although change often comes about by improving or extending existing program, ORD projects have incorporated fundamental changes in the concepts upon which the existing economic and correctional institutions are based. The consequences of most projects have been positive for the criminal offender, community agencies, the employer, State and Federal legislation, the criminal justice and correctional institutions, public safety and the public purse. Yet social cost-accounting is terribly complex, and the more complete results of social change initiated by a decade of ORD projects will not be visible for years to come.





# APPENDIX

## A. Description of R & D Projects

(chronological order)

### RESTORATION OF YOUTH THROUGH TRAINING

Wakoff Research Center, Staten Island, N.Y.

Restoration of Youth Through Training was designed to provide vocational training for a sample of young men (16 to 21 years) serving time in the New York City jail and to study their subsequent performance and adjustment upon release. Men who passed the basic skills examination which indicated that they were capable of learning data-processing techniques were selected to be subjects of the study and randomly divided into control and experimental groups. Experimentals received training on IBM punched-card data-processing machines and remedial help. Group discussion and individual counseling services were set up in the jail to anticipate and discuss postrelease personal adjustment problems. Job placement, bonding, and a revolving loan fund, as well as other supportive services, were provided after release to help subjects manage the transition from jail and foster entry into the legitimate community.

### PROJECT MORE

Government of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.

Project MORE (Motivation for Occupational Rehabilitation and Employment) was designed for incarcerated youth at the Lorton Youth Center in Lorton, Virginia, who it was felt would return to the community with severe employment handicaps. Youth ranging in age from 17 to 26 years were provided with training in seven occupations (automotive, barbering, building maintenance, clerical, food service, painting, radio and TV repair). After participants were screened for project selection, they were exposed to an orientation period consisting of an introduction to the seven trades offered and a series of general tests to evaluate the interest and ability of each trainee. Informal remedial education and counseling classes were established. Attempts were made in the areas of job development and placement.

## THE DRAPER PROJECT

Rehabilitation Research Foundation, Elmore, Ala.

The Draper Project was an experimental/demonstration project designed to train youthful offenders imprisoned at the Draper Correctional Center in Elmore, Alabama, in marketable skills. Occupational training in one of seven trades was complemented with remedial instruction in computation and communication skills and special courses in personal, social, and business relations. A job development, placement, and follow-up service enlisted community support in securing jobs for the released offender and in providing other necessary services. The project developed and utilized programmed instructional materials. Learning contingencies were manipulated and controlled in a systematic way to motivate students and achieve maximum learning. A system of incentives and rewards was used. College students were employed as instructional and counseling aides, along with the professional staff.

## VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDER

Springfield Goodwill Industries, Inc., Springfield, Mass.

## YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS UNDER TRAINING AND HABILITATION SERVICES

Springfield Goodwill Industries, Inc., Springfield, Mass.

The Vocational Rehabilitation of the Youthful Offender project was designed to provide vocational evaluation and on-the-job training for youth who had violated the law and were under the jurisdiction of the courts, i.e., probation and parole officers. A program was developed which evaluated each participant to determine his occupational potential and placed him into a pre-vocational work adjustment and training program in the ongoing industrial installation of the Springfield Massachusetts Goodwill Industries. This program of familiarizing youths with the expectations of a prospective employer and how to meet these expectations was followed in many instances by placement in on-the-job training programs in various businesses and industries in the community. Upon project completion, each youth was placed in a job in the community and followed-up to determine adjustment to the work situation.

The Youthful Offenders Under Training and Habilitation Services project was a followup (continuation) project to the above. Although the program developed by the earlier project continued, the primary emphasis of this project was on the refinement of the rationale and techniques useful to other agencies working with delinquents." The current project was designed to explore in greater depth the areas of family involvement, the relationship between youthful offender and supervisor, placement activities and the role of the placement counselor, community involvement and support.

#### EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF RELEASED OFFENDERS

George A. Pownall, Kent State University, Kent, O.

The Employment Problems of Released Prisoners project consisted of three separate surveys designed to examine the employment experiences of released prisoners. One survey was an analysis of the official records of released Federal prisoners under parole and mandatory release supervision. A second survey consisted of reviewing official records and interviewing Federal releasees under supervision in two metropolitan centers -- Baltimore, Md., and Philadelphia, Pa. The third survey was a panel design in which new Federal releasees supervised by the Federal probation offices in these two cities were interviewed upon release and once a month for the first three months of release.

#### BONDING ASSISTANCE DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

William Throckmorton, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

The Bonding Assistance Demonstration Project was designed to test whether the exclusionary policies of commercial bonding companies created work barriers for persons otherwise qualified for employment and to explore whether the premise on which exclusionary policies are based were false, i.e., former offenders can be bonded without excessive risk. It also had the goal of experimenting with bonding procedures and, at the same time, converting bonding companies and employers to a more liberal approach toward the bonding and hiring of persons with criminal records. The project made bonds available without cost to all individuals who had participated in federally sponsored employment programs who were barred from a particular job or all suitable jobs because of their inability to qualify for bonding.



### SPECIAL SERVICES FOR MISDEMEANANT YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS

United Planning Organization and D.C. Department of Corrections, Washington, D.C.

The Special Services Program for Misdemeanant Youthful Offenders was designed to aid socially and economically disadvantaged youthful offenders (ages 18-29 years) at the D.C. Workhouse in Occoquan, Va. The project identified those youthful misdemeanants who would be receptive and suitable candidates for rehabilitative efforts. It provided participants with a vocational orientation and taught them basic vocational, social, and academic skills necessary for employment in the areas of painting, landscaping, basic clerical training, janitorial maintenance services, laundry work, and railroad repair work. Work experience in the community was provided to give specialized on-the-job training experience in the free community work setting and to gain familiarity with the general expectation level of employers. Attempts were made to place program participants in suitable jobs or job training programs upon release.

### PROJECT FIRST CHANCE

South Carolina Department of Corrections, Columbia, S.C.

Project First Chance was designed to aid the inmate at the South Carolina Department of Corrections in making a successful adjustment in the community by meeting his economic, educational, and social needs. The project recruited, tested, counseled, evaluated, and selected inmates for prevocational training and vocational training in automobile body repair, automotive mechanics, bricklaying, carpentry, electrical appliance repair, maintenance, and welding. It provided training, job placement, and social services for these selected inmates and their families while they were in the institution. To bridge the gap between institutional life and life in a free society, the project provided environmental and psychological support in the form of a "half-way house" for released inmates. Social, psychological, and job placement support was available to the releasee and his family.

## PROJECT DEVELOP

New York Division of Parole, New York City, N.Y.

Project Develop (Developing Education-Vocational Experiences for Long-Term Occupational Adjustment of Parolees) was designed as a comprehensive approach to the employment problems of undereducated and undertrained young male offenders in the New York City area who were on parole. The project established an employment evaluation and diagnostic center to help parolees prepare for, plan for, and attain suitable educational and occupational objectives. It provided for training costs and supporting allowances. Participants were also provided with intensive counseling, vocational guidance, and job placement services during project participation and after graduation (i.e., followup). Community educational and vocational training facilities and resources were utilized. Fidelity bonds were provided as required.

## PROJECT CHALLENGE

National Committee for Children and Youth, Washington, D.C.

Project Challenge was designed to offer youthful male felons incarcerated in the Lorton Youth Center in Lorton, Va., a three-pronged program: A coordinated schedule of vocational training and remedial education; an intensive counseling schedule designed to instill positive social attitudes and to assist the trainees in identifying with the social and economic system to which they would return upon release; and a systematic followup program of job development and placement, and individual, family, and career counseling after release from the institution. On-site training courses were offered in automotive services, barbering, building service and maintenance, clerical and sales, food services, interior-exterior painting, and welding. A trainee advisory council, consisting of elected representatives from each of the project's seven vocational areas, was established to permit meaningful involvement of trainees in the decisionmaking educational and operational aspects of the project. Subprofessionals and volunteers were used in the counseling program along with professional staff.

### PROJECT FRESH START

Archdiocese of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.

Project Fresh Start established a program of job orientation, counseling, job placement, and followup support for women incarcerated at and released from the Detroit House of Correction. Opportunity for project graduates to reside in a half-way house upon release from prison was part of the available project services. Job orientation was provided in the areas of typing, key punch, food service, and nurse aide. The counselor was considered the key person in the project. The basic objective of the job orientation component was to bring the women to a level of development where they could perform on the job at realistic levels of production.

### PROJECT GET SET

The Youth House, Bronx, N.Y.

Project GET SET (Group Employability Training Specialized Educational Tasks) was a project aimed at the development of a vocational curriculum and a Life Skills training curriculum (including basic education in reading and mathematics) for delinquent youth incarcerated and awaiting court disposition in Youth House, Inc., a large detention center. The program followed this general pattern: Each week the trainees were introduced to a new work area (e.g., banking) with an orientation session providing background information about the kinds of jobs in that area. The basic life skills training was directly related to the job area introduced (e.g., appropriate dress for the position of teller). During the orientation sessions the trainees were encouraged to think of questions they would want to ask during the subsequent field trip to the job area under discussion. Following the field trip and question-and-answer session about it the trainees engaged in role-playing which required them to construct a physical environment simulating what they had observed during the field trip and to recreate and assume roles they had observed. Concluding the weekly curriculum was a "bull" session between the staff and trainees.



## PROJECT REJOIN

Villa Loretta School, Peekskill, N.Y.

Project Rejoin attempted to bind together vocational, psychological, and social adjustment as mutually interactive systems for socially disadvantaged, emotionally handicapped, adolescent females, ages 15 to 19 years, during a period of court placement in a residential school. The project provided training in four areas: Food service, health services, beauty culture, and business training. A base program was designed to prepare the trainees for a cluster of occupational possibilities in any one of the four areas. Each of the four training programs consisted of prevocational work-ups, job instruction methods, basic courses, work orientation, and the presentation of information on more advanced programs and job openings. A coordinated remedial program aided the trainees in comprehending curriculum material, in developing basic reading skills, and in gaining a facility in communicating with others. Intensive individual and group counseling took place while training was proceeding.

## PHILADELPHIA YOUTH DEVELOPMENT DAY TREATMENT CENTER

Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Philadelphia Youth Development Day Treatment Center project designed an intensive correctional program in a nonpunitive environment where disadvantaged youth (16 to 18 years) who had been adjudged delinquent by the courts spent most of their waking hours -- yet not institutionalized. While continuing to live at home, youthful offenders were enrolled at the center, dawn to dusk, in vocationally related academic school work, prevocational training and individual counseling, as well as in supervised sports and recreation. The first 5 weeks at the center consisted of an orientation period during which each student sampled all of five broad vocational fields (woodworking, welding, electrical appliance repair, food preparation, and clerical sales). In the remaining 21 weeks the student concentrated on the field of his choice. As the program developed, job placement assumed an important role. Incentive payments were given to stimulate attendance.

#### POLICE-COMMUNITY ALERT COUNCIL

Washington Urban League, Washington, D.C.

The Police Community Alert Council was an attempt to create "alert councils" composed of youth leaders, grass roots leaders, and more traditional community leaders to act as a communications link between the neighborhoods they represented and the local police station. Council members acted as the community's voice and were available as "intervenorers" to cool down potential clashes between police and youth. Field workers circulated through neighborhoods, assessing problems, intervening in tense situations, and referring youth to manpower programs and recreation activities as a safety valve for community tension. Citywide support was available in terms of supervisory assistance, voluntary legal staff, bail bonds, collateral funds, etc.

#### MANHATTAN COURT EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

Vera Institute of Justice, New York City, N.Y.

The Manhattan Court Employment Project was a pretrial intervention attempt to intervene in the usual court process just after a defendant's arrest, to offer him counseling and job opportunities, and if he cooperates and appears to show promise of permanent change, to recommend that the prosecutor and the judge dismiss the charges against him without ever deciding whether he is guilty. The project operated out of the Manhattan Criminal Court, accepting defendants who were predominantly male, between the ages of 16 and 46 years, unemployed or underemployed, not a full-time student, had not previously served more than 6 months in prison, and not charged with specified crimes (e.g., serious assault, armed robbery, drug addiction). Professional and paraprofessionals (ex-offenders) worked side by side. Individual and group counseling was emphasized. Intensive in-service staff training was given.

## PROJECT CROSSROADS

National Committee for Children and Youth, Washington, D.C.

Project Crossroads investigated the feasibility and effectiveness of pretrial intervention offering young, first offenders a program of intensive manpower services in the pretrial period. The project worked with a target group of male and female first offenders between the ages of 16 and 26 years. Defendants who met established criteria were recruited for a 90-day period of project participation prior to judicial review of their cases. During this time period each participant was provided with job or training placement assistance, group and individual counseling, remedial education, and other assistance as required. The court agreed to dismiss, upon recommendation of project staff, charges pending against all enrollees who participated satisfactorily in the program and who demonstrated their determination to use legitimate means to obtain economic ends. Professional, paraprofessional (ex-offenders), and VISTA staff worked side by side.

## EX-OFFENDERS AS SMALL BUSINESSMEN

Institute for Criminological Research, Rutgers State University, New Brunswick, N.J.

The Ex-Offenders as Small Businessmen: Opportunities and Obstacles project designed a followup study on former offenders who became self-employed. These ex-offenders were located and interviewed in their homes or places of business about the frequency of attempted self-employment, opportunities for self-employment, types of businesses attempted, correlates of business success.



EXPERIMENTAL MANPOWER LABORATORY FOR CORRECTIONS  
Rehabilitation Research Foundation, Elmore, Ala.

The Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections was established in a remodeled building at the Draper Correctional Center in Elmore, Ala. The laboratory was established to conduct a number of studies that would follow up on the knowledge prior ORD projects had gained. It was purposively structured in a manner flexible enough to permit exploration of problems in training in corrections, continuous assessment of experimental strategies, quick termination of efforts not paying off, and immediate institution of findings that appeared worth further testing. An overall objective of EMLC was to ensure that its findings were presented in such form and manner as would encourage their utilization by the major social subsystems with which the offender interacts, i.e., the prison system, paroling authority, employment service, law enforcement criminal justice agency personnel, family courts, mental health agencies, etc.

A selection of projects undertaken includes: A study of the barriers to the employment of released prisoners; the factors within the prison environment which markedly affect a manpower training effort; an assessment of the success of the Alabama State Employment Service in securing training-related employment for MDT prisoner trainees; a contingency management study which sought to determine those contingencies that generated maximum educational performance; a correctional officer training project to expand the correctional officer's role to include treatment; the creation of a token economy which utilizes contingency-management procedures to manage the institutional living environment, a longitudinal followup study of released inmates; the development and refinement of a battery of behavioral assessment and evaluation instruments which predict postrelease offender behavior.

## OPERATION PATHFINDER

Mentec Corporation, Los Angeles, Calif.

Operation Pathfinder (Shaping Work Behavior of Ex-Offenders and Other Disadvantaged People Using Social Reinforcement Techniques) was designed to determine the utility and feasibility of applying behavior modification techniques to juvenile parolees and other hardcore disadvantaged on the job. Industrial supervisors were trained to use these techniques, particularly social reinforcement, in shaping work habits and social behaviors of their subordinates. Basic training curricula were developed as well as a "how to" manual to train supervisors in behavior modification and a "job/behavioral analysis" manual. Counselor aides were drawn from the same population pool of parolees as those participating in the experiment and were given the task of helping experimental subjects to reduce or eliminate off-the-job problems that might interfere with on-the-job behavior.

## THE CLOSED DOOR

Institute of Criminal Law and Practice, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, D.C.

The Closed Door: The Effect of a Criminal Record on Employment with State and Local Public Agencies focuses on State and local government policies and procedures concerning the employment of individuals with criminal records and the extent to which they act as barriers to those individuals in obtaining public (civil service) employment. In addition to surveying State civil service and juvenile statutes, the researchers sent questionnaires to personnel heads, correctional administrators, and police chiefs in order to ascertain the reported policies and practices of a large number of jurisdictions. Job application forms as well as rules and regulations were examined during the course of the study. In all, 524 jurisdictions comprised the universe for a comprehensive picture of employment standards and practices. Six areas were selected for intensive on-site study.

## FIRST COMMUNITY POLICE RECRUITMENT PROGRAM

Adams-Morgan Federation, Washington, D.C.

The First Community Police Recruitment Program was an attempt to determine the feasibility of using neighborhood residents as police recruiters and have accepted police candidates assigned to work in the area in which they live. After the selection of a target neighborhood (racially and economically integrated), meetings were held between the mayor's office of the District of Columbia and representatives of the Metropolitan Police Department to determine the method for selecting recruiters from the community. After recruiters were selected, trained, and given orientation, they spent 6 days contacting community residents in an effort to recruit police candidates, with an emphasis on recruiting the underemployed. Eligible candidates were contacted by the police, informing them of the examination schedule.



STUDY OF READING DISORDERS IN RELATION TO POVERTY AND CRIME  
Work Training Program, Inc., Santa Barbara, Calif.

The Study of Reading Disorders in Relation to Poverty and Crime was designed to evaluate the progress of 83 dyslexic job trainees who were given reading and writing remediation as part of a manpower training program. The study also evaluated the effects of reading remediation on two other dyslexic groups, one consisting of students in a city college continuing education class and the other of students in a high school for delinquent boys. This study was a followup to an earlier one designed to determine the presence of dyslexia by clinical observation and testing and to work with trainees utilizing varied remedial methods. Former trainees were contacted for followup data, anecdotal records were obtained from employers, county schools, etc., to assess the reaction of these agencies to the training program, and achievement and performance results of the original trainees with current trainees were compared.

PIONEER MESSENGER SERVICE

Vera Institute of Justice, New York City, N.Y.

The Pioneer Messenger Service Supported Employment Project was developed to test the viability of group employment in combination with various on-site support services as an employment model for individuals considered "unemployable" because of their poor work histories and backgrounds of drug addiction, incarceration, or alcoholism. The project's goals are to discover (a) the extent and type of support services appropriate to a business environment, and (b) profiles of the types of individuals most likely to be aided by supported employment.

Pioneer provides extensive work related supports, such as a full day of orientation to work habits and personnel policies, written tests on these habits and policies, frequent and regularized formal work evaluations, monetary awards for good work performance, a detailed advancement system, employee meetings regarding various aspects of business organization and work performance, and a project staff experienced in and attuned to special participant problems. Nonwork-related supports are not therapeutically oriented, but are aimed at the practical problems the participants regularly confront, e.g., difficulties in obtaining or maintaining decent housing, facing old or current legal charges, etc.

### PROJECT LIFE (LIVING INSURANCE FOR EX-PRISONERS)

Bureau of Social Science Research, Washington, D.C.

Project LIFE was designed to study the effects on ex-prisoners of financial aid and employment assistance programs on their post-release adjustment. One group of participants is receiving financial aid and employment assistance; the second group is receiving financial aid only; a third group is receiving employment assistance only; a fourth group -- the control group -- is receiving neither service. Data is being collected through monthly interviews for a period of one year after release. The search for eligible men takes place among those who are leaving on mandatory release, or being paroled. Those who remain eligible are then interviewed and, if selected, assigned to one of the four groups on a random basis.

### EMPLOYMENT AND ADDICTION

Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The Employment and Addiction: Perspectives on Existing Business and Treatment Practices project surveyed the practices of both employers and drug treatment programs with respect to drug use by employees and related employer relationships with manpower and drug addiction control agencies. The project developed models for coordinated employer-manpower development-drug rehabilitation activities aimed at enhancing employment stability of drug users and ex-addicts. Employers were canvassed for information on their policies, attitudes, and experiences concerning the hiring and retention of addicts and ex-addicts and their relationships with addiction control treatment agencies. Drug rehabilitation programs were canvassed for information on the vocational backgrounds of clients in these program, manpower services provided, and other areas related to the employment of such persons.

## NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE ON OFFENDER EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS

American Bar Association, Washington, D.C.

The National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions project is developing a program which will help to remove formal barriers to the employment of the ex-offender. The Clearinghouse collects and gathers studies, monographs, findings, results, and analyses from the Department of Labor and various other organizations and agencies dealing with formal barriers to employment of ex-offenders for dissemination to local chapters of the American Bar Association and other interested persons and organizations. Dissemination is in the form of an "Offender Employment Review" which provides information on offender work laws, recent statutory and case law developments in this area, general materials on significant offender employment programs and studies, and the work of the Clearinghouse relating to unreasonable employment restrictions and their removal or modification. A "Handbook on Remedial Legislation and Other Techniques for Alleviating Formal Employment Restrictions Confronting Ex-Offenders" has been developed and disseminated.

## CORRECTIONS-PAROLE-MDT PROJECT

American Correctional Association, College Park, Md.

The Corrections Parole-MDT Project has attempted to identify communications problems between institutional and parole authorities through evaluation reports and the proceedings of a national workshop for corrections and parole administrators and to develop methods to overcome them. The project is currently developing and implementing the national model programs (utilizing the concept of Mutual Agreement Programing (MAP)) in correctional institutions in several States on an experimental basis and the necessary research for evaluation and policy planning.

Mutual Agreement Programing is an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of an inmate, followed by the design of an individualized program that would prepare him for a successful community adjustment following release on parole. Based on this assessment, treatment and training objectives are prescribed, and negotiations involving the inmate, the institutional staff, the project coordinator and the paroling authorities take place. The resulting contract is a legally binding document setting out the specific programs which the institution will provide to the inmate, the inmate's agreement to successfully complete those programs and objectives, and a specific parole date contingent upon successful completion of the set goals.



## ONGOING AND/OR RECENTLY FUNDED PROJECTS

### STUDY OF REHABILITATION PROJECTS AFFECTING WOMEN OFFENDERS

D.C. Commission on the Status of Women, Washington, D.C.

The Study of Rehabilitation Projects Affecting Women Offenders is an attempt to collect information and compile a report on rehabilitation projects throughout the Nation which are concerned with women offenders. After collecting data on a number of individual projects, this project will disseminate the information among these projects as a means of cross fertilization and enhancement of success through the sharing of information on problems and solutions. A report to an audience of interested government agencies and other public and private organizations with program responsibilities in the area of the rehabilitation of women offenders is planned to focus on the means employed to overcome problems, and the results emanating from the individual projects.

### ROLE OF PRISON INDUSTRIES NOW AND IN THE FUTURE

Institute of Criminal Law, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, D.C.

The Role of Prison Industries Now and In the Future project is an attempt to analytically examine the merits, limitations, and problems of various approaches to prison industry and to recommend specific measures and programs. The project will review published and unpublished research and other literature, review selected legal statutes, consult with recognized experts, and visit selected sites which seem to be unique in their approach. The project will also delineate the major factors which need consideration in using prison industry and will assess the viability of the prison industry concept relative to the differing goals of prison industry and relative to other types of alternatives.

### DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL ASSESSMENT AND CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM FOR CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

The Development of a Model Assessment and Classification System for Correctional Institutions project seeks to design a model assessment and classification system for adult correctional institutions which can be instrumental in (1) improving the quality of decisions made regarding assignment to vocational training programs and activities, and (2) facilitating the achievement of a better match between offenders and jobs subsequent to release from incarceration. It is anticipated that the model developed will be tested operationally on a demonstration basis in one or two institutions in a second project.

COMMUNITY INTEGRATION PROGRAM: INNOVATION TOWARD ALTERNATIVES  
TO INCARCERATION

National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Washington, D.C.

The Community Integration Program is an attempt to develop and experimentally test an alternative to incarceration -- in the form of a community-based residential center -- that will incorporate employment-related and other services for adult offenders sentenced to imprisonment. An attempt will be made to determine: (1) The effectiveness of an innovative community-based correctional strategy as an alternative to incarceration in rehabilitating offenders; (2) the cost factors involved in implementing such an activity, as compared with the usual costs of incarceration; and (3) the factors in the individual participant, the program, and the community that are critical to the success or failure of a community-based correctional strategy as an alternative to incarceration.

EXPERIMENTAL MANPOWER LABORATORY FOR CORRECTIONS

Rehabilitation Research Foundation, Elmore, Ala.

(refer to previous pages covering ORD offender projects for brief description)

PIONEER MESSENGER SERVICE

Vera Institute of Justice, New York City, N.Y.

(refer to previous pages covering ORD offender projects for brief description)

PROJECT LIFE

Bureau of Social Science Research, Washington, D.C.

(refer to previous pages covering ORD offender projects for brief description)

NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE ON OFFENDER EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS

American Bar Association, Washington, D.C.

(refer to previous pages covering ORD offender projects for brief description)

CORRECTIONS-PAROLE-MDT PROJECT

American Correctional Association, College Park, Md.

(refer to previous pages covering ORD offender projects for brief description)

## B. Summary Chart of R & D Projects

(chronological order)

TITLE OF PROJECT (location and contractor)	DATE OF FUNDING (and length)	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STAGE IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESSING	POPULATION	SPECIAL ASPECTS
Restoration of Youth through Training (Riker's Island Jail, N.Y.C.; Warkoff Research Center)	12/63 41 months	Vocational training in data processing for entry level positions; post- release placement and sup- portive services; informal remedial education; individ- ual and group counseling	prison (city jail)	Youthful offender (age 16-22) male	Training for white- collar occupation, limited bonding pro- gram, loan fund, supportive services
Project MORE — Motiva- tion for Occupational Rehabilitation and Em- ployment (Lorton Youth Center, Lorton Va.; Gov- ernment of the District of Columbia)	8/64 18 months	Entry and apprentice level vocational training in seven occupations (e.g., auto mechanics, barbering, maintenance, clerical); counseling for problem of- fenders; informal educa- tion; individual and group counseling	prison	Youthful offender (ages 17-26) male	
The Draper Project (Draper Correctional Center, Elmore, Alabama; Rehabilitation Research Foundation)	8/64 18 months	Vocational training in seven occupations (e.g., electrical repair, barber- ing, auto mechanics) for entry level; job develop- ment, placement and fol- low-up services; formal- ized educational program; individual and group counseling	prison	male offender	GED preparation, individually pro- grammed instruction, guided group interac- tion, college corps (volunteers), follow- up evaluation
Vocational Rehabilitation of the Youthful Offender and Youthful Offenders Under Training and Habilitation Services (Springfield, Mass.; Springfield Goodwill Industries, Inc.)	3/65 18 months 9/66 18 months	Pre-vocational, vocational training and absorption into the ongoing industri- al installation of Goodwill Industries, Inc.; work oriented counseling	probation and parole	Youthful offender (ages 16-21) male and female	Pre-vocational pro- gram, skill evalua- tion via work samp- ling, on-the-job training
Employment Problems of Re- leased Offenders (George A. Pownall, Kent State University)	6/65	An investigation of the employment problems of re- leased federal prisoners	_____	_____	survey material



TITLE OF PROJECT (location and contractor)	DATE OF FUNDING (and length)	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STAGE IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESSING	POPULATION	SPECIAL ASPECTS
Bonding Assistance Demonstration Program (available in 6 cities and 6 E&D projects, McLaughlin Company)	3/66 76 months	Pilot program of bonding assistance through public employment offices to provide fidelity bonding coverage to ex-offenders	probation, parole, release	all offenders, male and female	pilot program
Special Services for Misdemeanor Youthful Offenders (D.C. Workhouse, Occoquan, Va.; United Planning Organization and D.C. Dept. of Corrections)	5/66 12 months	Three phase program of diagnostic testing, academic remediation, social education, group and individual counseling; work experience on the grounds and on-the-job training in the free community (e.g., painting, landscaping, laundry)	prison	Youthful offender (ages 18-29) male	short-term facility, community work experience, accommodate varying lengths of sentences, monetary incentives
Project First Chance (Columbia, South Carolina; South Carolina Department of Corrections)	6/66 36 months	Vocational training in several occupational areas for entry-level (bricklaying, carpentry, welding, radio-TV repair); job development and placement services; formal education; individual, group and family counseling	prison	male offenders (ages 18-40)	half-way house facility upon release, VISTA volunteers, paraprofessionals, family counseling, programmed instruction
Project Develop -- Developing Educational-Vocational Experiences for long-term Occupational Adjustment of Parolees (New York Division of Parole)	6/66 20 months	Vocational appraisal, pre-vocational counseling, education, job development and placement	parole	Youthful offender (ages 17-23) male	control group, diagnostic and evaluation center
Project Challenge (Lorton Youth Center, Lorton, Va.; National Committee for Children and Youth)	7/66 18 months	Vocational training in several occupational areas for entry-level (e.g., barber, automotive, maintenance, painting, food services); group and individual counseling; remedial and trade-related education; post-release supportive services	prison	Youthful offender (ages 17-26) male	experimental remediation materials, VISTA volunteers, paraprofessionals, follow-up supportive services

TITLE OF PROJECT (location and contractor)	DATE OF FUNDING (and length)	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STAGE IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESSING	POPULATION	SPECIAL ASPECTS
Project Fresh Start (Detroit House of Cor- rection, Detroit, Mich.; Archdiocese of Detroit)	7/66 15 months	Vocational orientation to several occupations (e.g., typing, food service, nurse's aide, key punch); job counseling and place- ment; follow-up supportive services	prison	female offender	half-way house facility, short-term facility
Project GET SET -- Group Employability Training Specialized Educational Tasts (Bronx, N.Y.; The Youth House)	7/66 18 months	Vocational orientation, in- dividual and group counsel- ing; psychological testing program; job development; Skills focus	prison (juvenile detention center)	juvenile (ages 16+ ) male and female	Life Skills Education Program
Project REJOIN (Villa Loretto School, Peekskill, N.Y.; Villa Loretto School)	6/67 15 months	Vocational training in four job cluster areas (e.g., food, health, beauty, busi- ness); psychological testing and individual and group counseling; placement serv- ice; remedial education available; social adjustment skills	prison (closed com- munity resid- ential center)	juvenile (ages 15-19) female emotion- ally handicapped	job cluster approach, community work experi- ence, follow-up evalua- tion (incomplete)
Philadelphia Youth Devel- opment Day Treatment Center (Philadelphia, Pa.; Pennsylvania Dept. of Labor and Industry)	6/67 20 months	Dawn-to-dusk community-based pre-vocational and voca- tional training with job place- ment services; vocationally related and remedial educa- tion; individual and group counseling	probation	juvenile of- fenders (ages 15-18) male	financial incentives
Police-Community Alert Council (Washington, D.C.; Washington Urban League)	6/67 3 months	Utilization of community field workers to build a communications link between the community and the police.	---	---	crisis intervention councils, field workers
Manhattan Court Employ- ment Project (New York City Criminal Court; Vera Institute of Criminal Justice)	10/67 36 months	Short-term intensive manpower services in job development and group placement; group and individual counseling	pre-trial (community- based)	offender (ages 17-46) males, expanded to females	dismissal of pending charges, follow-up evalua- tion, paraprofessionals (ex-offenders), experi- mental and control group comparisons, follow-up services & evaluation

TITLE OF PROJECT (location and contractor)	DATE OF FUNDING (and length)	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STAGE IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESSING	POPULATION	SPECIAL ASPECTS
Project Crossroads (General Sessions and Juvenile Court, Washing- ton, D.C.; National Com- mittee on Children and Youth)	1/68 36 months	Short-term intensive manpow- er services in job develop- ment and placement; individ- ual counseling; educational tutoring	pre-trial (community- based)	juvenile and youthful offender (ages 16-25) male and female	first offenders, GED train- ing, VISTA volunteers, para- professionals (ex-offenders), experimental and control group comparisons, follow-up services & evaluation
Ex-offenders as Small Businessmen: Opportuni- ties and Obstacles (Rutgers State Univ., Institute for Criminolo- gical Research)	7/68 12 months	Review of the employment problems and prospects of a selected group of ex- offenders operating a small business	_____	_____	survey
Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Correc- tions (Draper Correc- tional Center, Elmore, Ala.; Rehabilitation Research Foundation)	9/68- 18 months Phase I 3/70 18 months Phase II 9/71 18 months Phase III	An experimental laboratory established to (1) explore training and related prob- lems, (2) assess experimen- tal strategies, (3) clarify problems uncovered in earli- er projects, (4) conduct studies building toward a reservoir of knowledge on which policy can be based and (5) present information in a form which encourages utilization	prison	offenders male	Manpower Training Program for prisoners; Ecological Experiment (token economy), Correctional Officer's Training Program, Individu- ally Programmed Instruction, Contingency Management, Labor Assistance Mobility, Bonding Project, Barriers to the Employment of the Re- leased Offender, Ala. State Empl. Service Utilization and Dissemination
Operation Pathfinder (Los Angeles, Cal.; Mentec Corporation)	9/69 36 months	The application of behavior modification techniques in the shaping of work habits and social behaviors by work supervisors; individual counseling; participation of 14 companies	parole	juvenile offender (ages 16 to 21)	social reinforcement tech- niques, OJT, paraprofes- sionals (ex-offenders) train supervisors in business, ex- perimental and control group comparisons
The Closed Door: The Ef- fect of a Criminal Record on Employment with State and Local Public Agencies (Georgetown University Law Center, Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure)	8/69 27 months	Survey of state and local government statutes, poli- cies and practices concern- ing the employment of indivi- duals with criminal records (juvenile, arrest and con- viction records) and the ex- tent to which they act as barriers to employment	_____	_____	survey



TITLE OF PROJECT (location and contractor)	DATE OF FUNDING (and length)	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STAGE IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESSING	POPULATION	SPECIAL ASPECTS
First Community Police Recruitment Program (Washington, D.C.; Adams- Morgan Federation)	5/70 3 months	To determine the feasibility of using neighborhood resi- dents as police recruiters and have accepted candidates assigned to work in the area in which they live	---	---	community recruiters
Study of Reading Disorders in Relation to Poverty and Crime (Santa Barbara, California; Work Training Program, Inc.)	9/70 6 months	Follow-up study of dyslexic job trainees who were given reading and writing remedia- tion as part of a manpower training program	---	---	---
Pioneer Messenger Service (New York City, N.Y.; Vera Institute of Justice)	9/71 24 months	A commercial messenger serv- ice which picks up and de- livers messages and packages within New York City; the creation of supported em- ployment for a high-risk population of alcoholics, addicts and ex-offenders	post-release	ex-offender (multiple of- fender)	high risk population, commercial enterprise, supported employment concept
Project LIFE - Living In- surance for Ex-Prisoners (Washington, D.C.; Bureau of Social Science Research)	6/71 24 months	Provision of services for post-released offenders - financial aid and/or em- ployment assistance; full- scale follow-through of M.Y.C. pilot project	post-release	ex-offender (multiple of- fender)	experimental and control design, job placement/ job devel- opment
Employment and Addiction: Perspectives on Existing Business and Treatment Practices (Harvard Univer- sity, Cambridge, Mass.)	6/71 16 months	Survey of the practices of both employers and drug treatment programs with re- spect to the employment needs of drug users and ex- users; an analysis of exist- ing business practices con- cerning drug use by employ- ees; employer relationships with manpower and drug ad- diction control agencies	---	---	---
National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Re- strictions (Washington, D.C.; American Bar Association)	8/71 21 months	To develop information about laws, regulations, adminis- trative practices & proced- ures which operate as barriers to employment of ex-of- fenders; to disseminate such information	---	---	---

TITLE OF PROJECT (location and contractor)	DATE OF FUNDING (and length)	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STAGE IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESSING	POPULATION	SPECIAL ASPECTS
Corrections-Parole-MDT Project (College Park, Maryland; American Correctional Association)	6/72 12 months Phase I 9/72 14 months Phase II	Documents the origin, development and current practices and statutes of parole; implementation of a series of prison projects in which parole is contingent upon an offender's behavior, previously agreed to be offender and parole authorities	prison	---	national workshop of corrections and parole administrators, mutual agreement programming
The Role of Prison Industries Now and in the Future (Washington, D.C.; Georgetown University Law Center, Institute of Criminal Law)	6/72 6 months	Examine the merits, limitations, and problems of various approaches to prison industry and recommend specific measures and programs	---	---	---
A Study of Rehabilitation Projects Affecting Women Offenders (Washington, D.C.; D.C. Commission on the Status of Women)	1/72 12 months	To collect information on rehabilitation projects which deal with the female offender; to disseminate information among these projects as a means of cross-fertilization; to report the means by which shared problems are overcome among these projects	---	---	---
Development of a Model Assessment and Classification System for Correctional Institutions (University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota)	8/72 12 months	To develop a model-assessment classification system for adult correctional institutions which can be instrumental in 1) improving the quality of decisions made regarding assignment to vocational training programs and activities and 2) facilitating a better match between offenders and jobs subsequent to release from incarceration	---	---	---
Community Integration Program; Innovations toward Alternatives to Incarceration (National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Washington, D.C.)	6/72 12 months	Establish a residential center for adult offenders sentenced to imprisonment in state and county institutions; job placement; develop strategies that will contribute toward the integration of rehabilitated offenders into their communities	prison (alternative to incarceration)	male offenders	offenders pay own way, residential setting in community, control and experimental groups, positive peer pressure





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